

JPRS-JAR-85-026

26 December 1985

# Japan Report



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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## JAPAN REPORT

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PUBLIC CONSENSUS ON SELF-DEFENSE FORCES, DEFENSE ISSUES CONDUCTED

Tokyo BOEI ANTENA in Japanese Aug 85 pp 2-36

[Opinion poll taken by prime minister's office]

[Text] Introduction

The national consensus on defense supports the defense capability and is a foundation for enabling defense capability to function effectively. Without this consensus, there is no national defense. For this purpose it is necessary not only to pay attention to the trend of the people's awareness but to also seek widespread understanding of the people in promoting the defense policy.

In November 1984, a "public opinion survey on the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) and the defense issue" was conducted by the information office of the prime minister's secretariat.

The opinion poll conducted by the information office is a kind of a public hearing to understand the thinking of the people scientifically from an impartial standpoint. Including this one, there have been altogether 21 surveys conducted since 1955. The results are valuable in understanding the people's awareness on the defense issue at that particular period and also in understanding the change in the people's consciousness in each time series.

I. Outline of the Survey

1. Subject of the Survey

A. Population: Individuals over 20 years of age throughout the country

B. Number: 3,000

C. Sampling method: Sub-stratified random sampling

2. Period of Survey: 7 November-13 November 1984

3. Method of Survey: Interview by poll-takers

4. Organization Under Assignment to Conduct the Poll: New Information Center, Inc.

## 5. Result of the Collection

A. Number of Valid Samples: 2,424 (collection rate 80.8 percent)

B. Number of those who were not available for the survey: 576 (moved, long-term absence, temporary absence, address unknown, refusal, others)

### List of Questions

- Question 1: Level of contact with the military unit  
Question 2: Level of interest in the SDF and the defense issue  
Question 3: Frequency of getting reports on the SDF and the defense issue  
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Question 19: The condition of Japan's defense  
Question 20: Feeling for defending the country  
Question 21: Necessity to take up the cause for natural defense in education?  
Supplementary Question: Reasons for not seeing the need for it  
Question 22: Danger of being drawn into a war  
Supplementary Question 1: Reasons for thinking that there is danger?  
Supplementary Question 2: Reasons for thinking that there is no danger?  
Question 23: What would you do in the event that Japan is invaded?  
Question 24: Considering the peace and security of Japan, what concerns you?  
Question 25: How often do you come across the SDF recruitment advertisement?  
Supplementary Question: What kind of advertisements have you seen?  
Question 26: Pros and cons of your close acquaintance's applying for the SDF.  
Supplementary Question 1: Reasons for [supporting it. Support if you are to choose one]  
Supplementary Question 2: Reason for [opposing it. Against if you are to choose one]

## 11. Special Features of Survey Results

Generally, the results of the present survey are the same as the one that was conducted previously in 1981, with only slight numerical changes.

Of the results, the principal features are the following five items:

(1) On the need for the SDF, this time again, 83 percent of the people responded that "it is better to have SDF." Thus it should be viewed that the rate of support for the SDF is settled at above the 80 percent level.

(2) On the SDF and the defense issue, as before, there exists an uninterested stratum of many people, as evidenced in the survey: about 48 percent of the respondents said that they were not particularly interested ("not particularly interested" + "not interested at all").

(3) On the understanding of the SDF, for the first time, more than 60 percent of the respondents considered the primary objective of establishing the SDF to be "ensuring national security." It should be taken to mean that the people's understanding of the SDF is progressively improving.

(4) On the question of the Japan-U.S. Security System, about 71 percent of the respondents believe that the system is "useful for the peace and security of Japan." For the first time, it has reached above 70 percent mark. Thus, it should be viewed that the level of appraisal for the Japan-U.S. security system has risen.

(5) On the size of the defense budget and the scales of the ground, maritime, and air SDF, those who want to see the maintenance of a status quo have increased.

Figure 1. Necessity of the SDF

Key:

1. necessary
2. don't know
3. unnecessary
4. 1972
5. Note: 1977 survey was conducted by the Defense Agency (hereafter same)
6. decimal points are rounded to the nearest whole number (hereafter same)

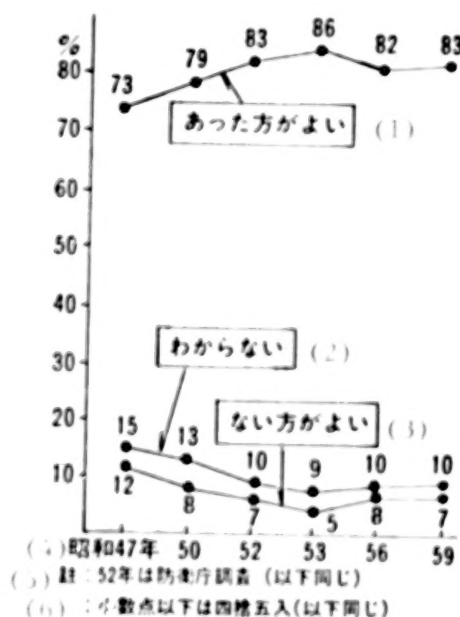


Figure 2. Interest in SDF and Defense Issue

Key:

1. No particular interest
2. A little interested
3. Very much interested
4. Not interested at all
5. 1977

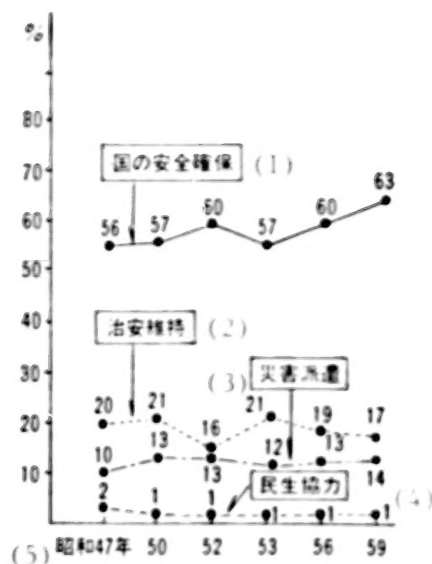


Figure 4. Appraisal of the Japan-U.S. Security System

Key:

1. Useful ("useful" + "useful if choice is to be made")
2. Not useful ("not useful" + "not useful if choice to be made")
3. Don't know
4. 1977

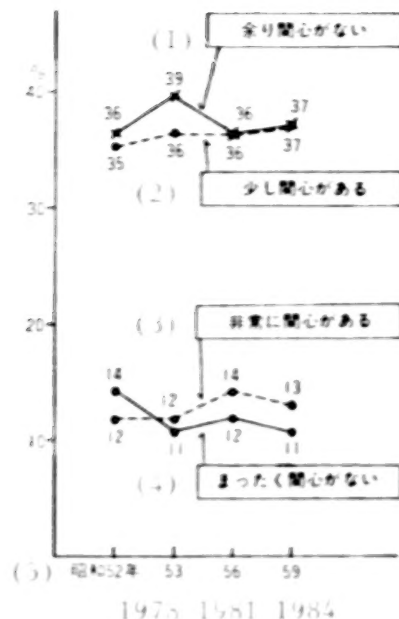
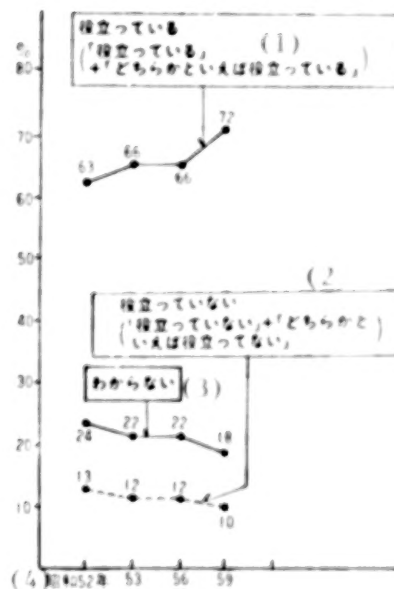


Figure 3. The Purpose for Creating the SDF

Key:

1. To ensure national security
2. To maintain law and order
3. To dispatch to areas of disaster
4. To cooperate in public welfare work
5. 1972



Graph 5-1. Increase and Decrease in the Defense Budget

Key:

1. Present level
2. Don't know
3. Want it reduced from the present
4. Want it increased
5. 1972

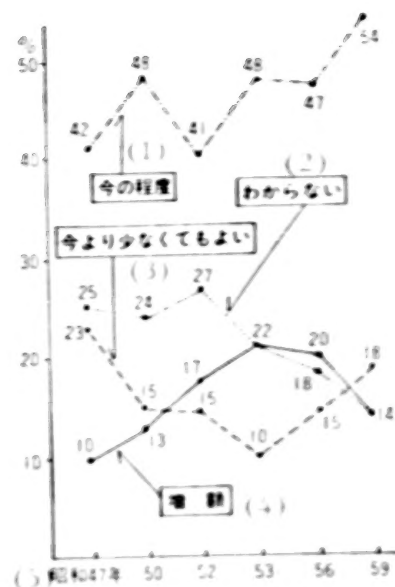
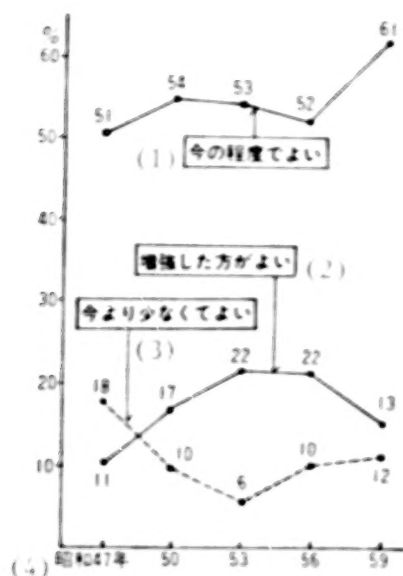


Figure 5-2. Size of the SDF (Land SDF)

Key:

1. Present level
2. Want it increased
3. Want it reduced from the present level
4. 1972

III. Summary of the Results (The numerical figures that indicate the survey results represent the percentage unless otherwise specified)

Interest in the SDF and the Defense Issue

Level of Contact

Question 1: Have you ever actually made educational tours to see or watched the SDF units, their exercises, or their parades?

Response	Total	11 Metropolis	Other Cities	Towns and Villages	Male	Female
Yes	17.6	10.2	19.3	19.4	22.9	13.2
No	82.4	89.8	80.7	80.6	77.1	86.8

Those who have actually observed (watched) the SDF units or their exercises reach 17.6 percent. The level of contact with the SDF units among those who live in large urban areas and among females is rather low.



## Level of Interest

Question: Do you take an interest in the SDF and the defense issue? Which of the following do you choose?

Don't know	No interest at all	No particular interest	Not interested	A little interested	Very much interested	Interested	Response	
1.9	10.9	36.9	47.8	36.9	13.4	50.3	総 数	Total
0.7	6.3	27.0	33.3	43.3	22.7	66.0	男	性 Male
2.9	14.7	45.1	59.8	31.6	5.7	37.4	女	別 Female
1.0	13.8	47.7	61.5	32.2	5.3	37.5	20 歳代	20's
1.4	10.8	42.0	52.8	38.2	7.5	45.8	30 歳代	30's
1.3	9.5	38.1	47.6	38.7	12.4	51.1	40 歳代	40's
2.2	9.8	33.3	43.1	38.6	16.1	54.7	50 歳代	50's
3.3	11.9	27.2	39.0	34.8	22.9	57.7	60歳以上	Over 60

The degree of interest in the question of the SDF and the defense issue interested was surveyed; 50.3 percent of the respondents said that they were interested (13.4 percent said "very much interested" + 36.9 percent said "a little interested"). On the other hand, 47.8 percent of those said they had "no interest" (36.9 percent said "no particular interest" + "not interested at all"). This constitutes about half.

As compared with previous survey results, the present survey results do not show much change.

Of those who responded "interested," by sex, the number of males, with 66.0 percent, has increased far more than that of the females, with 37.4 percent. By age, the older the respondents, the more interest was shown.

## Reports on the SDF and the Defense Issue

Question 3: Do you often, occasionally, or seldom come across news reports on the SDF and the defense issue in your everyday reading of newspapers or magazines, or in watching television?

Not clear	Very seldom	Occasionally	Very often	Response			
1.2	17.9	56.3	24.6	総 数	Total number		
0.4	8.9	53.9	36.9	小 計	Subtotal		
0.8	14.7	61.2	23.3	20 歳代	20's	}	Male
—	19.5	60.9	28.6	30 歳代	30's		
—	8.1	60.2	31.8	40 歳代	40's		
0.9	5.7	46.7	46.7	50 歳代	50's		
0.4	8.4	45.6	45.6	60歳以上	Above 60		
1.8	25.4	58.3	14.5	小 計	Subtotal		
—	30.3	60.0	9.7	20 歳代	20's	}	Female
1.2	20.2	65.3	13.4	30 歳代	30's		
1.6	22.4	57.7	18.3	40 歳代	40's		
2.3	28.9	55.9	12.9	50 歳代	50's		
3.8	29.0	50.8	16.4	60歳以上	Above 60		

On the frequency of seeing or reading reports on the SDF and the defense question, usually in the newspapers, on television, and in magazines, although there is a degree of difference, a large number, 81 percent, of the respondents said that they "come across" these reports. (25 percent said "very often" + 56 percent said "once in a while"). As compared with the previous survey, those who responded that they have seen the reports have increased. (It was 77 percent previously.)

By age and sex, many of those who "see the news" are found among the older males. They are few among the females.

#### Want to Know

Question 4. What kinds of things do you want to know about the SDF or the defense question? Please indicate two or three from the following (multiple responses).

Don't have/Don't know	Others	Military situations around Japan	Scale and details of Japan's defense budget	Set up of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty	Life and way of thinking of the SDF members	Japan's Defense Policy	Organization, equipment, and management of the SDF	Actual conditions of defense in other countries	Defense capability of the SDF	Problems in defending Japan	Response	
33.2	0.1	16.7	9.4	14.4	14.0	19.0	12.0	11.4	24.9	19.6	53% 12月調査	December 1978 Survey
34.6	0.3	19.1	10.2	14.5	10.7	17.4	10.7	10.6	25.7	21.2	56% 12月調査	December 1981 Survey
34.9	0.6	21.8	11.9	12.8	10.5	18.7	10.4	10.3	23.5	20.6	59% 11月調査	December 1984 Survey
21.3	0.8	26.5	13.8	13.9	10.7	24.5	13.0	14.1	34.8	25.7	51% 女性	by sex
46.3	0.4	18.0	10.3	11.8	10.3	14.0	8.2	7.2	17.8	16.5	51% 女性	by sex
28.3	0.7	20.7	17.4	13.5	12.2	19.7	14.1	11.8	25.7	19.7	20代	20's
30.9	0.9	23.9	14.4	14.0	10.4	18.5	12.2	11.8	27.1	21.2	30代	30's
30.5	0.4	26.1	10.6	14.2	12.8	21.2	10.4	12.4	27.0	22.4	40代	40's
37.8	0.4	19.3	12.2	14.2	11.2	16.9	10.0	8.9	24.6	18.5	50代	50's
45.1	0.6	18.2	7.3	8.2	6.5	17.6	6.5	6.9	23.1	20.7	60歳以上	over 60

On the SDF and the defense, they were asked what there was that they wanted to know. More prominent responses were: "the defense capability of the SDF" (25.5 percent), "the military situation around Japan" (21.8 percent), "the problem areas of Japan's defense" (20.6 percent), "Japan's defense policy" (18.7 percent), "the set up of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty" (12.8 percent). (Multiple responses)

#### Impression of the SDF

#### Overall Impression

Question 5. Are you generally favorably impressed by the SDF, or do you have a bad impression of it?

When they were asked about their overall impressions of the SDF, the majority, 54.2 percent, responded that they "do not have a bad impression," 20.1 percent was "favorably impressed," 13.7 percent was "not favorably impressed," and 3.1 percent had "a bad impression of it." When those who have a "favorable impression" and those who "do not have a bad impression" are combined, they constitute 74.3 percent.

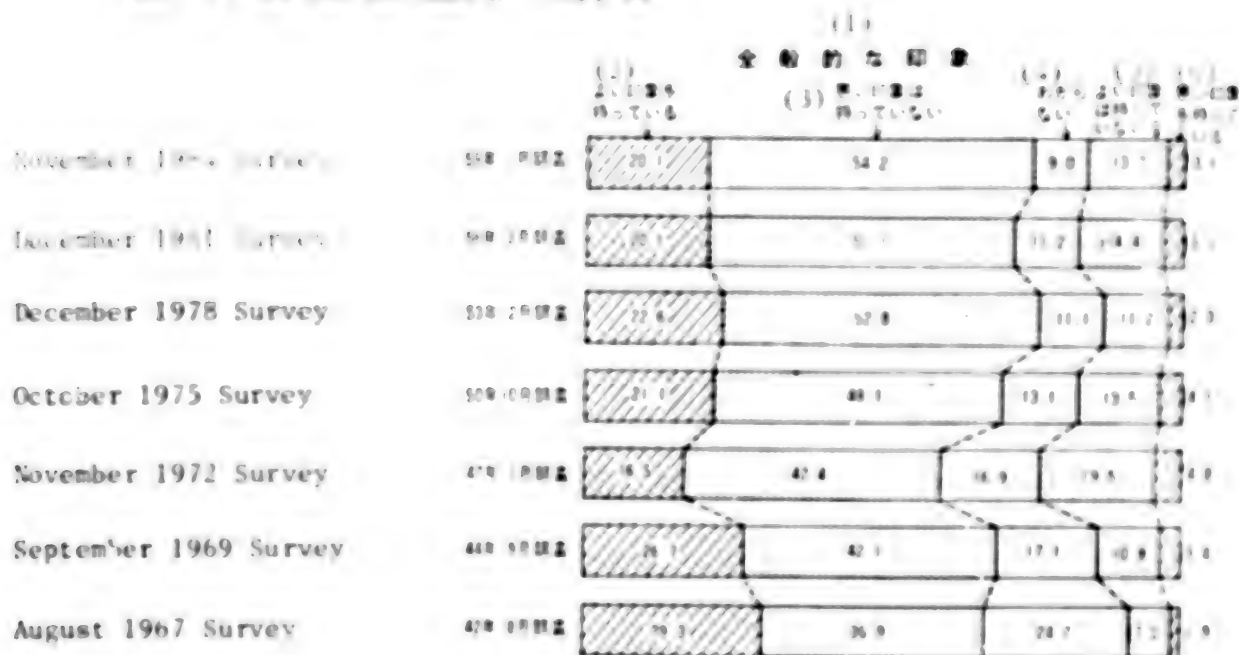
Don't know  
Have a bad impression  
Do not have a good impression  
Do not have a bad impression  
Have a good impression

Response

9.0	3.1	13.7	54.2	20.1	男	女	Total
6.4	2.5	12.4	53.9	24.8	男	女	Male
11.2	3.5	14.7	54.4	16.2	女	男	Female
6.6	6.3	24.0	55.6	7.6	20	20	20's
7.5	4.7	16.0	58.0	13.8	30	30	30's
10.2	2.4	13.1	57.3	17.0	40	40	40's
7.9	1.8	9.8	52.4	28.0	50	50	50's
11.7	1.3	9.4	47.6	30.0	60	60	Over 60

As compared with the results of previous surveys since 1967, the proportion of those who responded that they "do not have a bad impression" has increased year-by-year.

By age, the older the group, the more of them have a "favorable impression." The younger the group, the more of them are "unfavorably impressed" if "have a bad impression."



Key:

1. Overall Impression
2. Have a good impression
3. Do not have a bad impression
4. Don't know

5. Do not have a good impression
6. Have a bad impression

## Discipline

Question 6: We would like to know your impression of the SDF. What do you think of the discipline of the SDF. Do you think they are well disciplined or not? Which of the following do you believe?

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
わ	規律正しくない	規律正しい							
か	全	あ	小	割	非	小			
ら		ま		合	常				
な									
い	然	り	計	に	に	計			
20.2	1.3	15.3	16.6	48.7	14.5	63.2	総	数	Total
13.1	2.1	17.6	19.7	51.9	15.4	67.2	男	性	Male
26.0	0.6	13.5	14.1	46.1	13.7	59.8	女	別	Female
22.0	2.3	16.1	18.4	49.0	10.5	59.5	20	歳代	20's
25.8	1.4	15.1	16.5	51.3	11.3	62.7	30	歳代	30's
19.2	1.5	14.6	16.1	51.1	13.7	64.8	40	歳代	40's
16.9	1.2	13.0	14.2	50.2	18.7	68.9	50	歳代	50's
22.6	0.4	18.2	18.5	41.9	17.0	58.9	60歳以上	Over	60

Key:

1. Don't know
2. Not well disciplined
3. Not at all
4. Not much
5. Sub Total
6. Well disciplined
7. Relatively
8. Very much
9. Sub Total
10. Response

## Friendliness

Question 6: What do you think of their friendliness: Please pick the following:

Key:

1. Don't know
2. Not easy to become friendly
3. Difficult to become friendly
4. Not particularly
5. Subtotal
6. Easy to become friendly
7. Relatively
8. Very much
9. Subtotal
10. Response

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
わ	親しみやすく	親しみやすい							
か	ない								
ら	い	あ	小	割	非	小			
な	し	ま		合	常				
い	に	り	計	に	に	計			
16.7	14.4	40.8	55.2	23.7	4.4	28.1	総	数	Total
12.5	11.7	39.9	51.7	30.1	5.7	35.9	男	性	Male
20.3	16.5	41.5	58.0	18.4	3.2	21.7	女	別	Female
12.8	24.7	51.3	76.0	10.9	0.3	11.2	20	歳代	20's
15.4	19.7	47.8	67.5	14.5	2.5	17.1	30	歳代	30's
15.0	12.0	43.1	55.1	26.8	3.1	29.9	40	歳代	40's
17.7	10.2	34.8	44.9	29.7	7.7	37.4	50	歳代	50's
21.4	9.0	30.6	39.6	32.1	6.9	39.0	60歳以上	over	60

## Reliability

Question 8: On the aspect of reliability, what is your view? Please pick from the following:

Key:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	
わ	頼もしくない	全	あ	小	割	非	小	合	常	回
か										答
ら										項
な										目
い	然	り	計	に	に	計				
	(3)	(4)	(5)	(7)	(8)	(9)				
14.6	5.8	28.2	34.0	43.0	8.4	51.4	総	数	Total	
9.3	7.4	32.7	40.0	43.2	7.5	50.7	男	性	Male	} Sex
19.1	4.5	24.5	28.9	42.8	9.2	52.0	女	性	Female	
15.8	11.5	35.9	47.4	35.2	1.6	36.8	20歳代		20's	
15.4	6.8	32.0	38.8	40.0	5.7	45.8	30歳代		30's	
13.3	3.6	29.9	33.6	44.9	8.2	53.1	40歳代		40's	
12.8	4.7	24.0	28.7	47.6	11.0	58.5	50歳代		50's	
16.3	4.6	21.8	26.4	44.4	13.0	57.4	60歳以上		Over 60	

1. Don't know
2. Unreliable
3. Altogether
4. Not much
5. Subtotal
6. Reliable
7. Relatively
8. Very much
9. Subtotal
10. Response

On the impression of the SDF, they were asked questions from the following three categories: "Discipline," "Friendliness," and "Reliability." On "Discipline," 63.2 percent believe that they are "well disciplined," and 16.6 percent believe that they are "not well disciplined." On "Reliability," 51.4 percent think that they are "reliable" and 34.0 percent believe that they are "not reliable." Thus, many of them believe that they are "well disciplined" and "reliable." But on "friendliness," 55.2 percent think that they are "not easy to become friendly" and 28.1 percent think "easy to become friendly." Thus, those who believe that they are "friendly" are few.

By age, the older the group, the more of them believed that they were "friendly" and "reliable." The younger the group, the more believed that they were "unfriendly" and "unreliable."

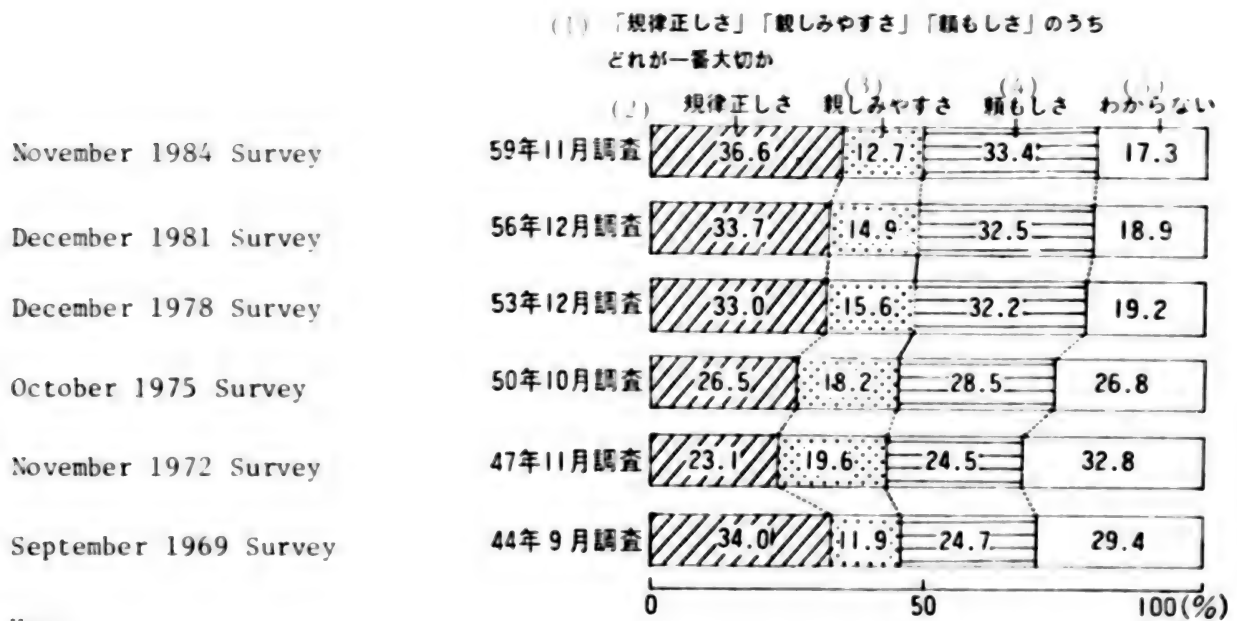
As compared with the results of a previous survey (December 1981), those who responded that they were "reliable" have increased (from 44.3 percent to 51.4 percent); however, on the other hand, those who believed that they were "not well disciplined" have increased (from 9.7 percent to 16.6 percent).

## Important Things in the Future

Question 9: Then, of the three, "discipline," "friendliness" and "reliability," which should be stressed most in the future?

When they were asked which of the three--"discipline," "friendliness," and "reliability"--should be valued most in the future, 36.6 percent and 33.4 percent cited "discipline" and "reliability," respectively, and in contrast, only 12.7 percent cited "friendliness" as the most important things in the future.

This showing shows almost no change from the previous survey results, but when the long-term trend of the past survey results are examined, they show that the stress on "reliability" has increased.



Key:

1. Among "Discipline," "Friendliness," and "Reliability," which is the most important
2. Discipline
3. Friendliness
4. Reliability
5. Don't know

Understanding of the SDF

The Role of the SDF

The Number One Objective of the SDF

Question 10: The duty and work to be undertaken by the SDF are mainly the following four. What do you think is the number one objective in establishing the SDF? Choose only one.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
わ	そ	土ののや民	送やの災	国	略(国	回
か	の	木処支オ生	な緊時害	内	の外の	答
ら	の	工事、ン力	ど急の派遣	の治安	抑止か全	項
ない	他	事、平不ビ(国	患援(実	の安	の確	目
		など時発ッ体	者活災	維持	の確	
		の強ク体	輸動害		保	
12.7	0.3	1.5	12.7	22.5	50.4	44年9月調査 September 1969 Survey
12.1	0.3	1.2	10.3	20.0	56.1	47年11月調査 November 1972 Survey
8.1	0.2	1.2	13.0	20.8	56.5	50年10月調査 October 1975 Survey
7.8	0.2	1.5	13.3	20.8	56.6	53年12月調査 December 1978 Survey
6.6	0.1	1.3	13.2	19.1	59.6	56年12月調査 December 1981 Survey
4.9	0.2	1.0	13.6	17.2	63.0	59年11月調査 November 1984 Survey
2.0	0.4	0.9	11.3	18.8	66.6	男 } 性 Male } S
7.3	0.2	1.1	15.5	15.8	60.1	女 } 別 Female } X
3.3	0.7	1.6	15.1	19.4	59.9	20 歳 代 20's
3.1	0.4	0.9	15.1	13.6	67.0	30 歳 代 30's
3.8	0.2	0.4	14.6	16.8	64.2	40 歳 代 40's
4.3	—	1.2	12.0	17.5	65.0	50 歳 代 50's
9.6	0.2	1.1	11.7	19.9	57.6	60 歳 以上 over 60

Key:

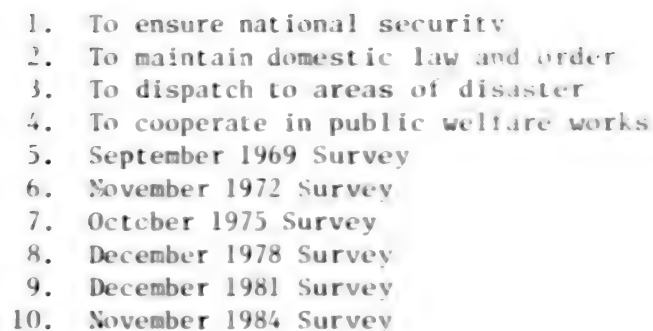
1. Don't know
2. Others
3. To cooperate in public welfare works (National athletic competitions, Olympics, disposal of unexploded bombs, and peace-time civil engineering works).
4. To dispatch to areas of disaster (Rescue activities in times of disaster and emergency patient transportation).
5. To maintain domestic law and order.
6. To ensure national security (Stop foreign aggression)
7. Response

By presenting the principal duties of the SDF, they were asked what they thought was the number one objective for establishing the SDF. In order, the largest number, 63.0 percent, cited to "ensure national security." Seventeen point two percent of the respondents cited "to maintain domestic law and order," 13.6 percent cited "to dispatch to areas of disaster," and 1.0 percent cited "to cooperate in public welfare affairs."

When the long trend of this is examined on the basis of the past survey results, those citing "to ensure national security" have increased in proportion.



## Key:



Question 11: In what respect do you think the SDF have been most useful?  
Please pick one of the following:

國答項目 (7)

国の安全の確保（外国からの侵略の抑止）

国内の治安維持 (5)

災害派遣（災害の時の救援活動や緊急の患者輸送など）

民生協力（国体やオリンピックの支援、不発弾の処理、平時の土木工事など）

その他の他

わからない (1) (2)

- | (3) |     |     | (4)  |     |      | (6)   |        |         |       |  |  |
|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|------|-------|--------|---------|-------|--|--|
| 4.2 | 0.2 | 2.4 | 80.9 | 3.1 | 9.2  | 總     | 數      | Total   |       |  |  |
| 2.0 | 0.5 | 2.6 | 80.9 | 3.6 | 10.4 | 男     | 性<br>別 | Male    | } Sex |  |  |
| 6.0 | 0.1 | 2.3 | 80.9 | 2.6 | 8.2  | 女     |        | Female  |       |  |  |
| 3.6 | —   | 3.0 | 81.6 | 2.3 | 9.5  | 20 歲代 |        | 20's    |       |  |  |
| 3.6 | 0.2 | 2.2 | 82.9 | 2.3 | 8.8  | 30 歲代 |        | 30's    |       |  |  |
| 2.2 | —   | 2.9 | 83.6 | 2.4 | 8.9  | 40 歲代 |        | 40's    |       |  |  |
| 3.7 | 0.4 | 2.4 | 80.9 | 3.5 | 9.1  | 50 歲代 |        | 50's    |       |  |  |
| 7.6 | 0.6 | 1.9 | 75.5 | 4.6 | 9.8  | 60歲以上 |        | over 60 |       |  |  |

## Future Emphasis

Question 12: What do you think the SDF should emphasize in the future? Please choose one of the following:

Key:

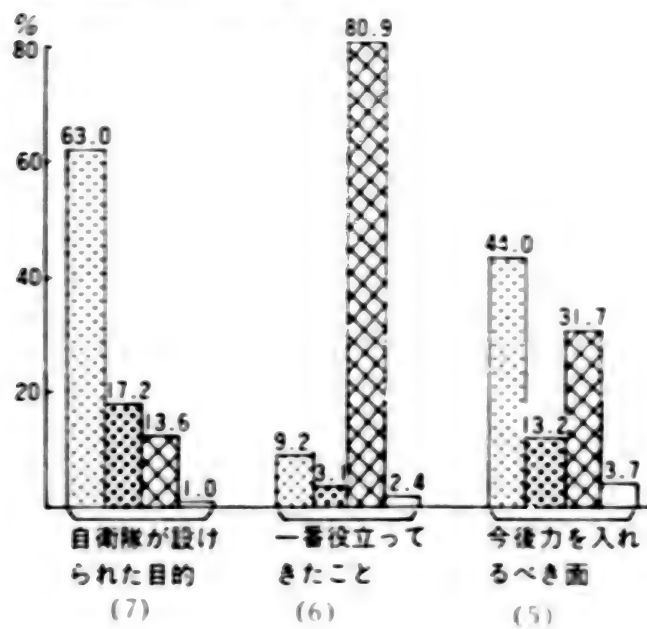
1. Don't know
2. Others
3. To cooperate in public welfare works (National athletic competitions, Olympics, disposal of unexploded bombs, and peace-time civil engineering work).
4. To dispatch to areas of disaster (rescue activities in times of disaster and emergency patient transportation).
5. To maintain domestic law and order.
6. To ensure national security (stop foreign aggression).
7. Response

わ か ら な い	そ の 他	ど れ の 支 援 に 関 心 を も つ か ら い ま す か	民 生 協 力 の 支 援 に 関 心 を も つ か ら い ま す か	な ら ば ど の 支 援 に 関 心 を も つ か ら い ま す か	実 際 の 支 援 に 関 心 を も つ か ら い ま す か	国 内 の 治 安 維 持 に 関 心 を も つ か ら い ま す か	ち の ほ の 支 援 に 関 心 を も つ か ら い ま す か	同 答 項 目
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
8.9	0.4	3.7	31.7	13.2	44.0	総 数	Total	
4.2	0.6	4.5	26.7	13.3	50.7	男 } 性 Male	} Sex	
9.2	0.2	3.0	35.9	13.1	38.5	女 } 別 Female		
3.9	1.0	5.9	38.5	13.8	36.8	20 歳 代	20's	
6.6	0.7	3.4	38.6	11.0	39.7	30 歳 代	30's	
5.7	—	4.6	32.7	13.1	44.0	40 歳 代	40's	
6.5	0.4	1.8	28.0	15.0	48.2	50 歳 代	50's	
10.7	0.2	3.6	22.9	13.6	48.9	60 歳 以上	over 60	

When the people were asked what they thought the most useful aspect of the SDF has been, the response was as follows: 80.9 percent cited "to dispatch to areas of disaster," 9.2 percent cited "to ensure national security," 3.1 percent cited "to maintain domestic law and order," and 2.4 percent cited "to cooperate in public welfare affairs,"

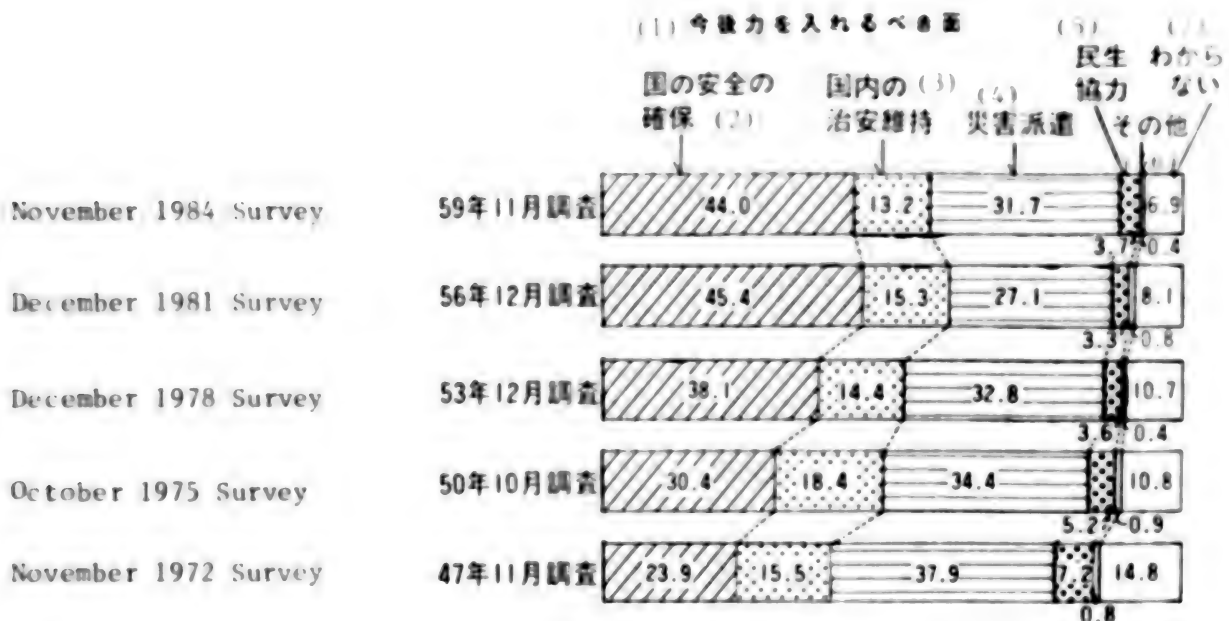
On the question of what should be emphasized in the future, the response was as follows: 44.0 percent cited "to ensure national security," followed by 31.7 percent who cited "to dispatch to areas of disaster," 13.2 percent who cited "to maintain domestic law and order," and 3.7 percent who cited "to cooperate in public welfare affairs."

# The Role of the SDF



Key:

- (1) 1. To maintain domestic law and order
- (2) 2. To ensure national security
- (3) 3. To cooperate in public welfare affairs
- (4) 4. To dispatch to areas of disaster
- (5) 5. Future emphasis
- (6) 6. Most useful
- (7) 7. Purpose of creating the SDF



Key:

1. Emphasis To Be Placed in the Future
2. To ensure national security
3. To maintain domestic law and order
4. To dispatch to areas of disaster
5. To cooperate in public welfare works
6. Others
7. Don't know

# Is it Better to Have the SDF?

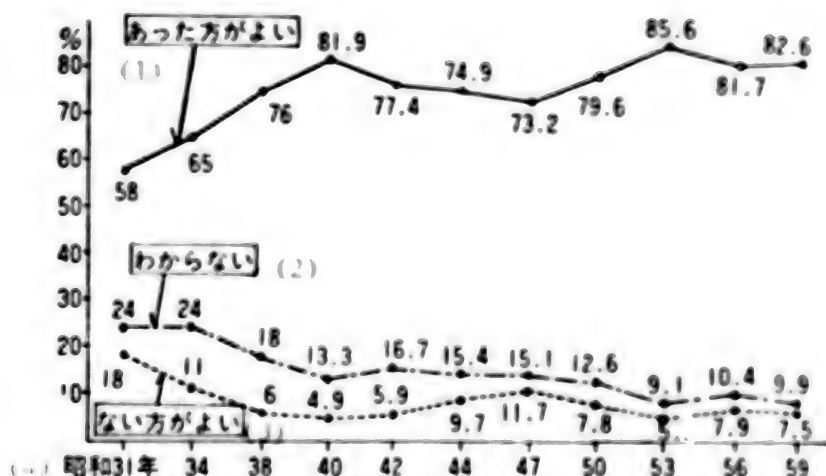
Question 13: Now, do you think it is better to have the SDF, or would it be better not to have it?

Key:

1. We should have it
2. We should not have it
3. Don't know
4. Response

わ	な	ま	調査項目
か	い	た	
ら	方	た	
な	が	方	
い	よ	が	
	い	よ	
(1)	(2)	(3)	
9.9	7.5	82.6	総数 Total
5.6	7.7	86.6	男性 Male
13.5	7.2	79.2	女性 Female
11.8	11.8	76.2	20代 20's
11.7	8.8	79.5	30代 30's
10.0	6.8	83.2	40代 40's
8.1	6.3	85.6	50代 50's
8.6	5.4	86.0	60歳以上 over 60

Need for the SDF



(一) 昭和31年 34 38 40 42 44 47 50 53 56 59  
 (二) (注) 昭和38年までの調査では、「あった方がよい」には「あった方がよい」と「あってもよい」を含み、「ない方がよい」には「ない方がよい」と「なくてもよい」を含む。

Key:

1. We should have it
2. Don't know
3. We should not have it
4. 1956
5. In the 1963 survey, under the category of "we should have it," the categories of "it is better to have it," and "it is fine even if we have it," were included, and under the category of "we should not have it," "Better not to have it" and "It is fine even if we don't" were included.

On the question of whether or not they should have the SDF, more than 80 percent, 82.6 percent to be exact, responded that it was better to have the SDF, and on the other hand, 7.5 percent responded that it would be better not to have it. Further, 9.9 percent of them said "don't know."

By age, the older the group, the more responded that it was "we should have it." The figure reached 86 percent when it came to the people in their fifties and up.

On the need for the SDF, the results are not much different from those of the previous surveys. For the past 20 years the rate of support has been stabilized at around the 80 percent mark.

By occupation, more people in the managerial, agricultural, forestry, fishery and professional fields believed that "we should have it," and on the other hand, few housewives and students saw the need for it.

			回答項目	Key:	
わ	な	あ		1. Total	
か	い	った		2. Occupation of the person concerned	
ら	方	方が		3. Subtotal	
な	が	よい		4. Agriculture, forestry, fishery, industry	8. Should have it
い	よい	い		5. (Commerce, industry, subtotal)	
(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	6. Commerce & industry, service business	9. Should not have it
8.8	7.5	82.8	総計(1)	7. Profession	
4.3	7.8	87.9	本(2)人	9. (Subtotal)	12. Business
0.7	6.7	92.6	農林漁業	10. Agricultural, forestry, fishery industry	
6.0	8.3	85.8	(商工・自由・小計)	11. Commerce & industry service profession	
6.1	9.1	84.8	商工サービス業	13. (Subtotal)	19. Employees
5.3	2.6	92.1	自由業	14. (Management, specialization, clerical, subtotal)	
8.6	2.7	88.7	(小計)	15. Management	
6.5	1.9	91.7	農林漁業(10)	16. Specialized technical professional	
10.6	3.5	85.8	商工サービス・自由業	17. Clerical	
9.5	9.0	81.4	(小計)	18. Labor	
8.3	9.6	87.0	(管理・専門・事務・小計)	20. Subtotal	22. Unemployed
—	2.8	97.2	管理・専門・事務	21. Unemployed housewife	
—	13.3	86.7	専門・事務	22. Student	
9.6	10.2	80.2	事務	23. Others	
10.5	8.5	80.9	労働者	24. Don't know	
13.2	7.1	79.7	(小計)	25. Should not have it	
14.1	8.1	77.8	無職	26. Should have it	
7.9	15.8	76.3	無職の主婦	27. Response	
11.9	3.2	85.0	その他		

## Reasons for "Having"

Supplementary Question 1. Why do you think that we should have the SDF?  
(Questioned 2,002 individuals who had responded that it was better to have the SDF.)

わそ民支国国  
かの生者内  
計らの協派の  
ない他たの  
(11)(7) (6)(8)(4) (11)(2)

139 2 1 7 45 19 63 59年11月  
2 1 5 5 1 1 8 調査

141 1 1 7 39 23 68 56年12月  
3 8 0 7 4 1 3 調査

139 2 1 9 45 22 59 53年12月  
9 8 1 2 5 3 0 調査

Key:

1. Response
2. To ensure national security
3. To maintain domestic law and order
4. To dispatch to areas of disaster
5. To cooperate in public welfare works
6. Others
7. Don't know
8. Total
9. November 1984 Survey
10. December 1981 Survey
11. December 1978 Survey

## Reasons for "Not Having"

Supplementary Question 2. Why do you think that there is no need for it?  
(181 persons who respond with "It is better not to have the SDF" were given this question).

Key:

1. Response
2. Because we have a constitution which renounces war
3. Because the people's economic burden will be heavy
4. Because military base question will arise
5. Because we will be drawn into a war if we are armed
6. Because we pose a threat to other countries if we are armed
7. Because it is unthinkable that there would be a foreign invasion
8. Others
9. Don't know
10. Total
11. November 1984 Survey
12. December 1981 Survey
13. December 1978 Survey

わそ人他ち武力武力軍地民戦  
かの国たえ力がある地民の争  
計らのれか入がある問題の政  
ない他ないからととが生自業  
(10) い 他 からのと戦争がある  
(9)(8) の 脅 威 争にま 法  
は 考 (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1)

153 4 12 3 12 43 7 28 40 59年11月  
8 4 2 0 7 1 2 7 3 調査

154 1 9 7 8 35 8 34 48 56年12月  
0 6 5 4 5 4 5 4 7 調査

144 5 11 10 10 26 7 27 45 53年12月  
2 4 6 1 1 4 8 9 0 調査

To those (2,001) who responded that it was better to have the SDF, their reason was asked. The largest number, 63.8 percent, cited "to ensure national security," followed by 45.1 percent who cited "to dispatch to the areas of disaster," 19.1 percent who cited "to maintain domestic law and order," and 7.5 percent who cited "to cooperate in the public welfare affairs." (Plural responses)

The chief reasons of those (181) who responded that it was better not to have the SDF were as follows: 43.1 percent believed that "because Japan would be drawn into a war it armed," 40.3 percent cited that "because there is the constitution which renounces war," and 28.7 percent cited "because the people's economic burden would become heavy," (multiple responses). These were the principal reasons.

## Defense System

### The Scale of Defense Strength

#### The Size of the Land SDF

Question 14. We would like to have your views on the defense capability of the land, maritime, and sea SDF in the defense of Japan's security. First of all, the defense capability of Japan's Land SDF and those of other armies of various other countries are roughly as shown on the chart. In your view, should we strengthen the land SDF more, should we maintain the present level of its strength, or should we reduce it?

お か ら な い	よ う い ろ り 少 な く て	今 の 程 度 で よ い	い ち よ う 強 い 方 が よ い	回 答 率 %	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
22.8	10.8	44.4	22.0	44.9	9月調査 September 1969 Survey
19.4	18.4	51.2	11.0	47.4	11月調査 November 1972 Survey
19.0	9.9	54.5	16.6	50.0	12月調査 December 1975 Survey
19.1	5.8	53.5	21.6	53.4	12月調査 December 1978 Survey
15.9	9.6	52.2	22.3	56.0	12月調査 December 1981 Survey
14.2	11.8	61.4	12.6	59.9	11月調査 November 1984 Survey
5.5	11.2	64.7	18.7	男	性 } Male } S Female } x
21.5	12.3	58.6	7.5	女	
9.2	21.7	56.9	12.2	20	代 20's
12.2	13.5	65.4	9.0	30	代 30's
14.4	11.3	64.0	10.2	40	代 40's
13.8	8.9	64.0	13.2	50	代 50's
19.5	7.5	54.5	18.5	60	歳以上 Over 60

#### Key:

1. Don't know
2. Reduce it from its present level
3. Maintain the present level
4. Increase it from its present level
5. Response

# Size of the Maritime SDF

Question 15: What about the Maritime Self-Defense Force? Do you think that we should strengthen it further, maintain the present level of its strength, or reduce it? By looking at this chart, what is your view?

お か ら な い	よ い り 少 な く て	今 の 程 度 で よ い	い づ れ か の 方 が よ い	回 答 項 目
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
24.9	10.5	37.8	26.9	44年9月調査
22.0	16.9	46.1	15.0	47年11月調査
21.1	9.8	50.7	18.4	50年10月調査
21.8	6.2	49.2	22.9	53年12月調査
16.9	9.2	50.9	22.9	56年12月調査
15.1	11.7	57.8	15.4	59年11月調査
6.1	11.3	58.1	24.6	男
22.6	12.0	57.7	7.8	女
11.2	22.0	54.6	12.2	20歳代
13.8	13.8	61.2	11.1	30歳代
14.6	10.2	61.1	14.1	40歳代
14.4	9.3	59.3	16.9	50歳代
19.9	7.1	51.2	21.8	60歳以上

Key:

1. Don't know
2. Reduce it from the present level
3. Maintain the present level
4. Increase it from the present level
5. Response

# Size of Air SDF

Question 16: What about the Air SDF? Do you think that we should strengthen it further, maintain the present level of its strength, or reduce it? By looking at this chart, what is your view?

Key:

1. Response
2. Increase it from the present level
3. Maintain the present level
4. Reduce it from the present level
5. Don't know
6. September 1969 Survey
7. November 1972 Survey
8. October 1975 Survey
9. December 1978 Survey
10. December 1981 Survey
11. November 1984 Survey
12. Sex
13. Female
14. Age
15. 20's
16. 30's
17. 40's
18. 50's
19. Over 60

お か ら な い	よ い り 少 な く て	今 の 程 度 で よ い	い づ れ か の 方 が よ い	回 答 項 目
(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
24.5	11.2	40.7	23.6	44年9月調査 (10)
21.6	18.7	46.5	13.2	47年11月調査 (11)
20.8	11.0	52.7	15.4	50年10月調査 (10)
21.8	6.5	48.5	23.2	53年12月調査 (19)
16.2	9.6	50.0	24.2	56年12月調査 (110)
14.5	11.5	55.8	18.2	59年11月調査 (11)
5.7	10.7	54.3	29.2	男 (1)
21.7	12.1	57.1	9.1	女 (14)
10.2	20.4	51.3	18.1	20歳代 (15)
12.9	14.0	58.9	14.2	30歳代 (16)
14.2	10.4	58.4	17.0	40歳代 (17)
14.2	8.7	59.8	17.3	50歳代 (14)
19.1	7.3	48.8	24.9	60歳以上 (19)



参考(10) 表示した「カード」の数値

(11) 各陸軍の  
兵隊の人数  
各海軍の  
艦艇のトン数

(12) 各空軍の  
航空機の数

スウェーデン	西ドイツ	米軍(西太平洋軍)	ソ連(極東配置)	中国(東部)	北朝鮮	韓国	日本	参考(10)
49	336	570	37000	32570	5400	155万人	924	24.2万
96	260	700	1700	421	68	92	24.2万	420
420	620	620	2200	617	1400	7400	4500	3500

Key:

1. Reference (figures shown on the card)
2. Japan
3. South Korea
4. North Korea
5. People's Republic of China
6. Soviet Union (Deployed in the Far East)
7. United States (U.S. Military in the Western Pacific)
8. West Germany
9. Sweden
10. Number of men in the army
11. Tonnage of ships in the navy
12. Number of aircrafts in the air force

By showing the people a card which indicated the military strengths (Army--number of men; Navy--tonnage of ships; and Air Force--number of aircrafts) of Japan and other countries (South Korea, North Korea, People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union (Soviet military in the Far East)), the United States (U.S. military in the Western Pacific), West Germany, and Sweden), they were asked their opinion about the scales of the strength of each of the land, maritime, and air SDF. More than half of those respondents, 61.4 percent, 57.8 percent, and 55.8 percent respectively, were of the opinion that "the present level of strength," of each of the land, maritime and air SDF, should be maintained. Those who responded that it should be "strengthened further" were more than 10 percent (12.6 percent), 15.4 percent, and 18.2 percent respectively). About 10 percent believed that it "should be reduced" (11.8 percent, 11.7 percent, and 11.5 percent respectively).

As compared with the previous survey, those who responded that the "present level should be maintained" have increased, and those who responded that "it should be strengthened further" have decreased.  
Reference (The figures on the card shown to them.)

#### Scale of the Defense Budget

Question 17: Japan's 1984 defense budget was about ¥2.9 trillion. The proportion it occupies in our country's budget and its comparisons with main free democratic countries are as shown. In your opinion, to maintain the peace and security of Japan, should we increase defense spending, maintain the present level, or reduce it?

わから ない	より 少なく て	今の 程度で よい	増加 した方 がよい	調査 項目
(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
14.0	17.7	54.1	14.2	総 数 (6)
5.8	16.7	55.8	21.7	男 性 (7)
20.8	18.6	52.7	7.9	女 性 (8)
8.6	26.3	52.0	13.2	20 歳 代 (9)
13.1	22.4	54.2	10.2	30 歳 代 (10)
13.1	15.4	56.9	13.5	40 歳 代 (11)
11.8	16.1	56.9	15.2	50 歳 代 (12)
21.2	10.7	49.5	18.5	60 歳 以上 (13)

Key:

1. response
2. Increase it from the present level
3. Maintain it at the present level
4. Reduce it from the present level
5. Don't know
6. Total
7. Sex
8. Male
9. Female
10. Age

The Scale of Defense Budget



Key: 1. Increase it  
2. Maintain at present level  
3. Don't know

4. Reduce from present level

The 1984 defense budget was about ¥2.9 trillion. By giving them cards which shows the proportion defense occupies in our country's budget (5.8 percent) and the ratio of the defense spendings of the major liberal democratic nations to their GNP's, they were asked to give their opinion about the scale of the defense budget. Fifty-four point one percent of the respondents were of the opinion that the "present level should be maintained," 14.2 percent said that "it should be increased," and 17.7 percent were for a "decrease."

As compared with the previous surveys, those who want to see the maintenance of the present level has increased, and those who want to see it increased have decreased.

By sex and age, there was almost no change in the category of "the present level should be maintained." On the opinion that "it should be increased," more men (21.7 percent) were in favor of it than women (7.9 percent). The older males were more in favor of the increase. As for the opinion that "it should be reduced," there was no big difference between sexes (16.7 percent for male and 18.6 percent for female), but the younger they were (both sexes), more [of] them were in favor of the decrease.

(1) 主要自由主義諸国の国防費と対GNP（国民総生産）比（1982年）

Key:

1. Defense Expenditures of Major Democratic Nations and their Proportions to the GNP (Gross National Product) (1982)

2. Source: "Military Balance 1983-1984," published by the British Strategic Institute

3. Notes:

1. The defense expenditures of the NATO nations are of the uniform concept by the definition of NATO

2. The figures with asterisks(\*) in the column of the proportion of the defense expenditure to the GNP indicate the proportion to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

3. As for Japan it is based on 1982 "Defense Related Expenditures."

4. Proportion of defense expenditures to the GNP

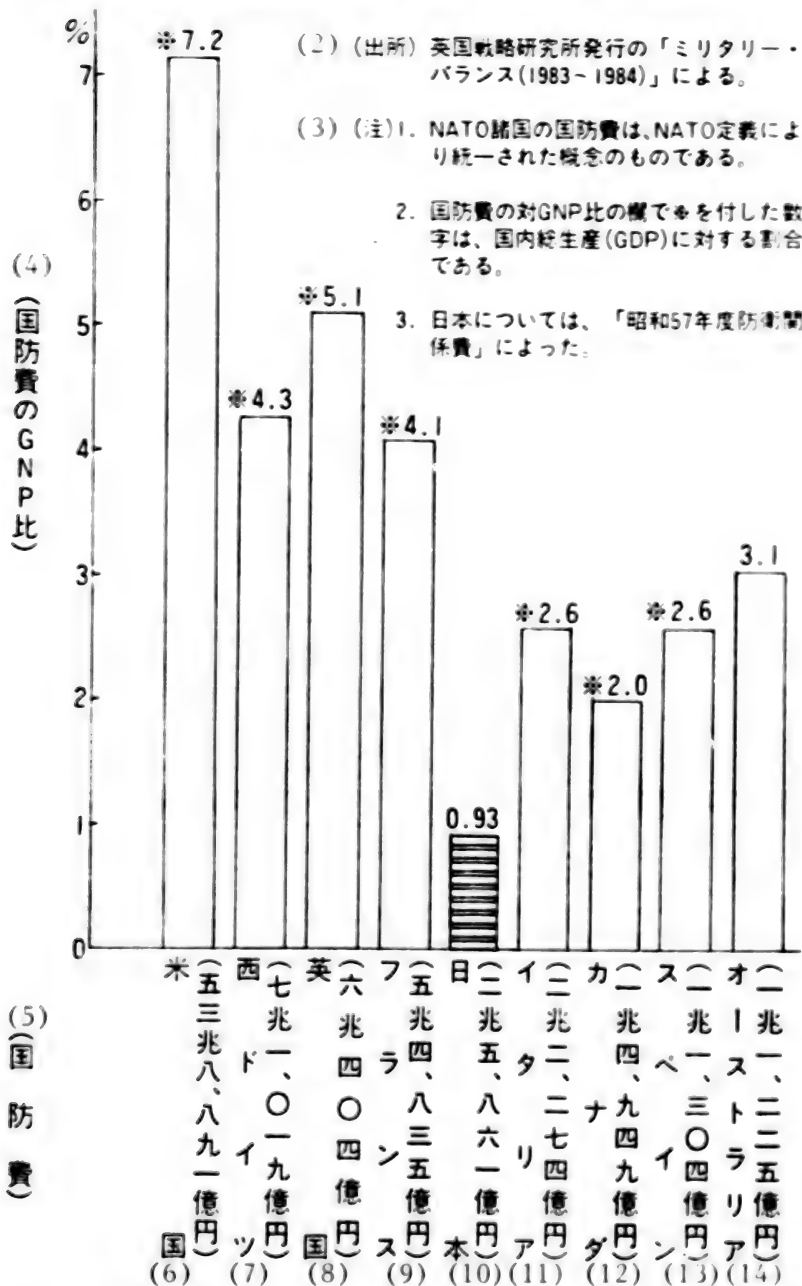
5. Defense expenditures

6. United States (53 trillion 889.1 billion yen)

7. West Germany (7 trillion 101.9 billion yen)

13. Spain (1 trillion 130.4 billion yen)

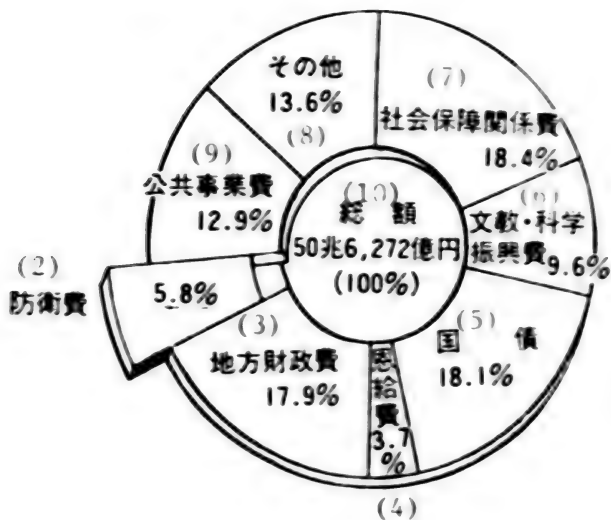
14. Australia (1 trillion 122.5 billion yen)



8. United Kingdom (6 trillion 40.4 billion yen)  
 9. France (5 trillion 483.5 billion yen)  
 10. Japan (2 trillion 586.1 billion yen)  
 11. Italy (2 trillion 227.4 billion yen)  
 12. Canada (1 trillion 494.9 billion yen)

(1) 昭和59年度予算に占める主要関係予算の割合

Key:



1. Proportions that the related principal budgets in the 1984 occupy in the 1984 budget
2. Defense Expenditures
3. Local Fiscal Expenditures
4. Pensions
5. National Bonds
6. Educational and Scientific Promotions
7. Social Security
8. Others
9. Public Works
10. Total Amount: 50 trillion 627.2 billion yen

The Japan-U.S. Security Treaty

Question 18: We would like to ask your opinion on the present condition of Japan's defense. At present, Japan is in a security treaty relationship with the United States. Do you think that the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is or is not useful for maintaining the peace and security of Japan? Which of these do you choose?

(1) 日米安保条約は役立っているか

(2) 役立っている (3) どちらかといえば役立っている (4) わからぬ (5) どちらかといえば役立っていない (6) 役立っていない

November 1984 Survey



December 1981 Survey



December 1978 Survey



Key:

1. Has the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty been useful?
2. Has been useful.
3. Has been useful if choice is to be made
4. Don't know.
5. Has not been useful if choice is to be made.
6. Has not been useful.

(1)	(2)	(6)	(10)
わ	役立っていない	役立っている	回
か	立ど	立ど	答
ら	ちっ	ちっ	項
な	てら	てら	目
い	いか	いか	
	ない	るい	
	え	え	
(3)	ば(5)	ば(8)(9)	
	役	役	

Key:

1. Don't know
2. Has not been useful
3. Has not been useful
4. Has not been useful if choice is to be made.
5. Subtotal
6. Has been useful
7. Has been useful if choice is to be made.
8. Has been useful
9. Subtotal
10. Response
11. Total
12. Sex
13. Male
14. Female
15. Age

(4)	(7)	(11)	(13)	(12)
18.2	3.9	6.5	10.4	37.5
8.1	5.2	6.7	11.9	35.8
26.6	2.8	6.3	9.1	38.9
12.2	6.3	9.2	15.5	44.1
16.9	5.2	7.5	12.7	39.1
15.0	2.7	4.7	7.5	40.0
21.1	2.6	6.9	9.6	35.6
23.9	3.4	5.2	8.6	31.2
				36.3
				67.5
				60歳以上
				over 60 years old

When asked about whether or not the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty was useful in maintaining Japan's peace and security, 33.9 percent of the respondents said "it is useful," and 37.5 percent said "if they are to choose one, it is useful." Thus, putting them together it reaches 71.4 percent. Three point nine percent responded that "it is not useful," and 6.5 percent responded that "if they are to choose, it is not useful." Putting them together, 10.4 percent belong to this category. Eighteen point two percent responded that they "don't know."

As compared with the previous survey, more people believe that "it is useful."

By sex and age, more men (80.0 percent) than women (64.3 percent) believed it either to be "useful" or "useful if they are to choose one." and by age, more people in their 40's believed it useful (77.6 percent).

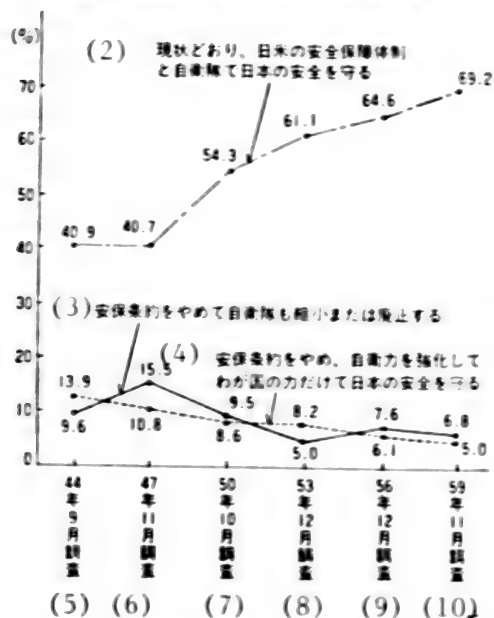
#### What Japan's Defense Should Be

Question 19: What measure do you think we should take to defend Japan's security? Which of the following would you choose?



(1)日本の安全を守るためにとるべき方法

Key:



1. Measures to be taken to maintain the security of Japan.
2. Leave it as it is; maintain Japan's security through the Japan-U.S. security system and the SDF.
3. The security treaty should be ended and the SDF should be either reduced or abolished.
4. End the security treaty, and maintain Japan's security with our own strength only by reinforcing the self-defense capability.
5. September 1969 Survey
6. November 1972 Survey
7. October 1975 Survey
8. December 1978 Survey
9. December 1981 Survey
10. November 1984 Survey

Defense Consciousness

Feeling to Defend

Question 20: We would like to find out your feelings about "defending the nation." In comparison with others, do you think your feelings for "defending the nation" are on the strong side or on the weak side? Which one do you choose?

Key:

1. Very weak (not at all)
2. Weak if choice is to be made
3. Subtotal
4. Don't know
5. Strong if choice is to be made
6. Very strong
7. Subtotal

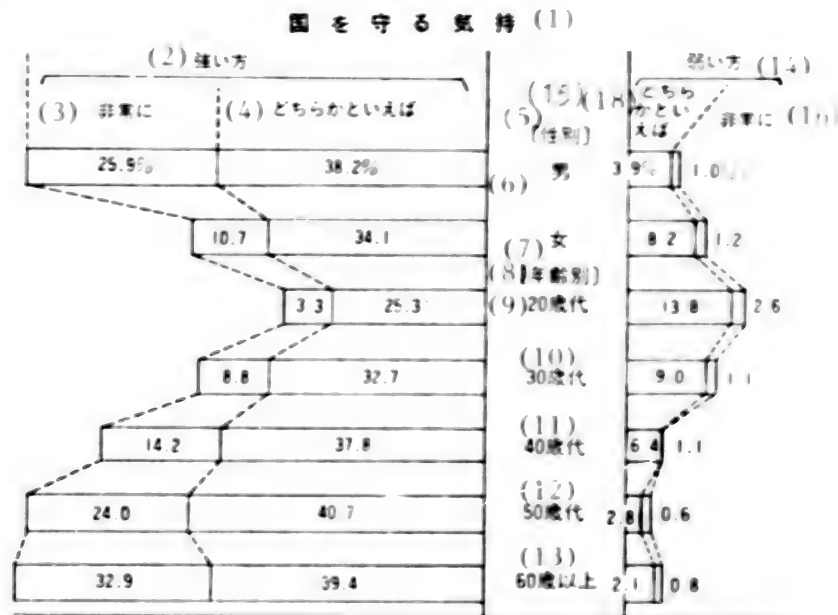
(9) 弱い (10) 強い							回答項目
非常	えど	いど	えど	非常	小	計	
(非常に弱い)	ばち	ち	ばち	ばち	計		(8)
1.6	7.7	9.4	36.7	35.8	18.2	54.0	12月調査
1.1	7.6	8.7	37.5	36.2	17.6	53.8	12月調査
1.1	8.3	7.4	39.0	36.0	17.6	53.6	59年11月調査
1.0	3.9	4.9	30.9	38.2	25.9	64.1	性別
1.2	8.2	9.4	45.7	34.1	10.7	44.8	
2.6	13.8	16.4	54.9	25.3	3.3	28.6	20歳代
1.1	9.0	10.1	48.5	32.7	8.8	41.5	30歳代
1.1	6.4	7.5	40.5	37.8	14.2	52.0	40歳代
0.6	2.8	3.5	31.9	40.7	24.0	64.6	50歳代
0.8	2.1	2.9	24.9	39.4	32.9	72.3	60歳以上



When the people were asked about whether they had strong or weak feelings about defending their country, in comparison with others, 17.6 percent responded "very strong," and 36.0 percent said if they were to choose, it would be on the strong side. Thus, putting together them, they reached 53.6 percent, more than a majority. In contrast, 1.1 percent said "very weak," and 6.3 percent said it was on the weak side. Altogether, those who believed that they were on the weak side made up 7.4 percent. Still, 39 percent of them said they didn't know.

As compared with past survey results, the present results show little change.

By sex and age, more men (64.1 percent) than women (44.8 percent) had "strong) feelings for the national defense. Those who had "weak feelings" towards the national defense were found more among the young people than from the higher age brackets.



Key:

- |                                       |                             |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Feelings for defending the country | 9. 20's                     |
| 2. Strong side                        | 10. 30's                    |
| 3. Very much                          | 11. 40's                    |
| 4. If choice is to be made            | 12. 50's                    |
| 5. Sex                                | 13. Over 60 years           |
| 6. Male                               | 14. Weak side               |
| 7. Female                             | 15. If choice is to be made |
| 8. By age                             | 16. Very much               |



Question 21: Do you think that the issue of promoting the people's feelings for defending our nation should be taken up in the field of education or not?

わ 必 必  
か 要 要  
ら は が  
な な あ  
い い る

回  
答  
項  
目

(1)

(4)(3)(2) 53年12月調査 December 1978 Survey

23.0 29.2 47.9 56年12月調査 December 1981 Survey

21.6 31.5 47.0 59年11月調査 November 1984 Survey

21.5 29.3 49.2

13.5 30.0 56.4 男 } 性 Male } S

28.2 28.7 43.2 女 } 別 Female } e

18.4 47.7 33.9 20 歳代 20's

23.3 38.4 38.2 30 歳代 30's

20.1 28.5 51.5 40 歳代 40's

20.7 22.4 56.9 50 歳代 50's

23.7 16.3 60.0 60歳以上 Over 60

Key:

1. Response
2. Necessary
3. Unnecessary
4. Don't know

わ そ な が 自 を 日 る 戦 該  
か の ん 高 衛 国 米 争 当  
ら の と い の 隊 連 安 放 者  
な 他 く 守 ら 有 保 置 数  
い 他 く 意 意 力 有 法 人  
(11)

回  
答  
項  
目

(10)(9)(8)(7)(6)(5)(4)(3)(2)(1)

120.0 5.3 3.3 16.6 13.4 1.8 27.6 22.5 29.4 826 50年10月調査 October 1975 Survey

121.4 5.0 4.4 15.1 8.7 3.0 29.7 23.0 32.5 888 53年12月調査 December 1978 Survey

121.8 3.9 4.3 12.7 13.9 2.4 25.3 24.3 34.9 510 56年12月調査 December 1981 Survey

125.9 3.0 5.7 18.3 11.8 3.1 27.1 27.8 31.3 578 59年11月調査 November 1984 Survey

127.8 3.6 8.7 9.0 11.9 3.2 27.1 30.3 33.9 277 男 } 性 Male } S

124.1 2.3 3.0 23.1 11.7 3.0 27.1 25.1 28.8 299 女 } 別 Female } e

130.3 1.5 4.5 10.6 12.1 — 31.8 24.2 45.5 66 20 歳代 20's A

129.1 2.4 6.3 15.7 13.4 3.9 30.7 26.8 29.9 127 30 歳代 30's B

127.8 3.5 3.5 13.2 13.9 3.5 25.0 32.6 32.6 144 40 歳代 40's

116.9 5.1 8.5 19.5 9.3 0.8 23.7 22.0 28.0 118 50 歳代 50's

126.4 1.7 5.8 20.7 9.9 5.8 26.4 29.8 26.4 121 60 歳以上 Over 60

Key:

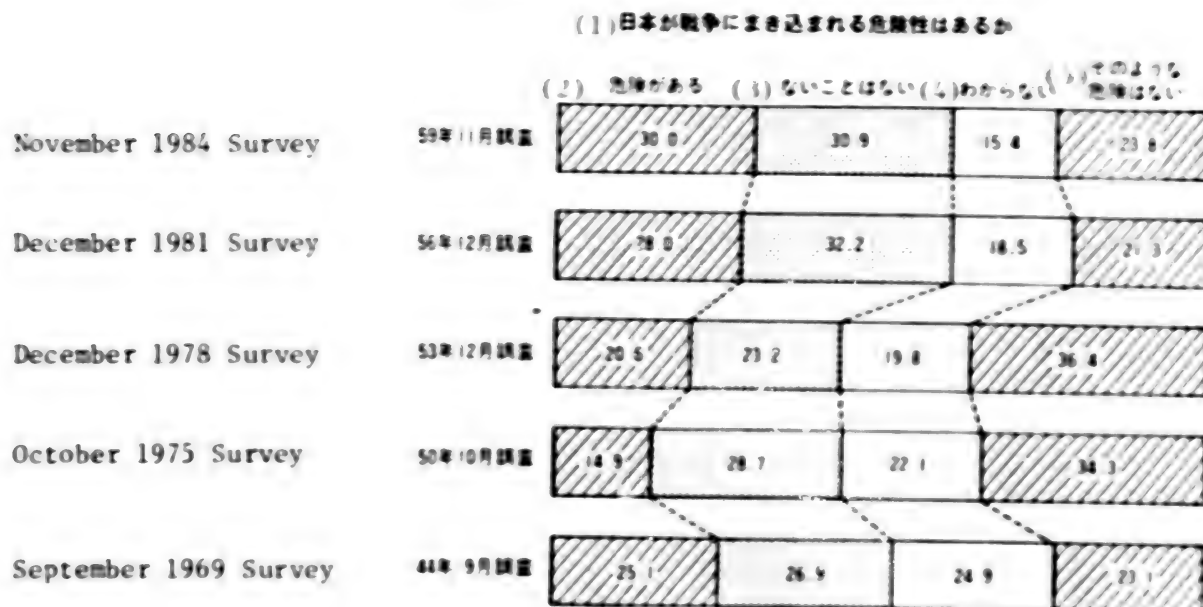
1. Response
2. Number of Persons surveyed
3. Because there is a constitution that renounces war
4. Because there is the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty
5. Because the United Nations strives to maintain peace
6. Because there is the SDF
7. Because the people's awareness of defending the country is high
8. No particular reason
9. Others
10. Don't know
11. Total



By age, many of the younger group have a sense of insecurity.

Reasons for Danger (Surveyed those responded that there is a danger)

Supplementary Question 1: Why do you think so? Which of the following do you pick? (Surveyed 1,475 persons who responded either "there is a danger" or "cannot rule it out")



Key:

- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. Is there a danger that Japan might be drawn into a war? | 3. Cannot rule it out      |
| 2. There is a danger                                       | 4. Don't know              |
|  | 5. There is no such danger |

Being Drawn Into a War

Question 22: Taking the present world situation into consideration, do you or do you not see a danger of Japan being forced into a war or being drawn into one?

		(2)		回 答 項 目	
		危険がある			
わ	い	な	危		小
か	そ	い	険		計
ら	う	こ	が	(3)	
な	な	と	あ		
い	い	は	る		
(7)(6)(5)(4)		(3)		(1)	

Key:

1. Response
2. There is a danger
3. Subtotal
4. There is a danger
5. Cannot rule it out
6. There is no such danger
7. Don't know

13.4	23.9	30.9	30.8	60.8	総 数	Total
9.6	25.2	30.6	34.6	65.2	男	性 Male } Sex
20.2	22.6	31.1	26.2	57.3	女	
10.9	21.7	31.6	35.9	67.4	20 歳 代	20's
11.1	22.8	32.5	33.6	66.1	30 歳 代	30's
13.1	26.3	31.4	29.2	60.6	40 歳 代	40's
19.5	24.0	31.9	24.6	56.5	50 歳 代	50's
21.0	23.1	27.2	28.7	55.8	60 歳 以上	Over 60 years of age

When the people were asked whether or not it is necessary to take up the issue of promoting the people's feelings for defending the nation in education, 49.2 percent responded that "it is necessary," 29.3 percent "it is unnecessary," and 21.5 percent "don't know."

By sex and age, more men (56.4 percent) than women (43.2 percent) responded that "it is necessary," and the older the group, the more it believed it necessary. The younger, the less need they saw.

#### Not Needing It

Supplementary Question: On what grounds do you not see the need for it?

The reasons that "it is not necessary" to take up the issue in education (710 respondents) are as follows in the descending order: 37.7 percent on the grounds that "it has implications of the revival of militarism," 28.6 percent "because it is not something that should be promoted through education," 23.8 percent "because there is danger of it being used in various ways," 18.5 percent "because it is natural to have feelings for defending one's own country," and 15.1 percent "because the feeling for defending one's own country will rise when the situation develops." (multiple responses)

計 (10)	た	だ	な	の	と	な	く	他	(9)	(8)	(7)	(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
121 0	10 5	2 1	27 4	19 0	26 4	15 5	20 0	711	53	年12月	調査	(11)					
128 7	6 6	1 3	39 7	20 3	26 8	13 7	20 2	753	56	年12月	調査	(12)					
130 0	5 4	1 0	37 7	23 0	28 0	15 1	18 5	710	53	年11月	調査	(13)					

Key:

1. Response
2. Individuals concerned
3. Because it is natural to have feelings for defending one's nation
4. Because the feelings for defending the country will develop when it comes to that point
5. Because it is something that can be promoted by education
6. Because there is danger of it being used in various ways
7. Because it has implications of revival of militarism
8. Others
9. No particular reason
10. Total
11. December 1978 Survey
12. December 1981 Survey
13. November 1984 Survey

On the other hand, the reasons given by the 576 persons who responded that "there won't be such a danger" were as follows: 31.3 percent responded that "because there is a constitution which renounces the war," 27.6 percent "because of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty," and 27.1 percent "because the United Nations is striving for peace." (Multiple responses)

#### If Japan is Invaded

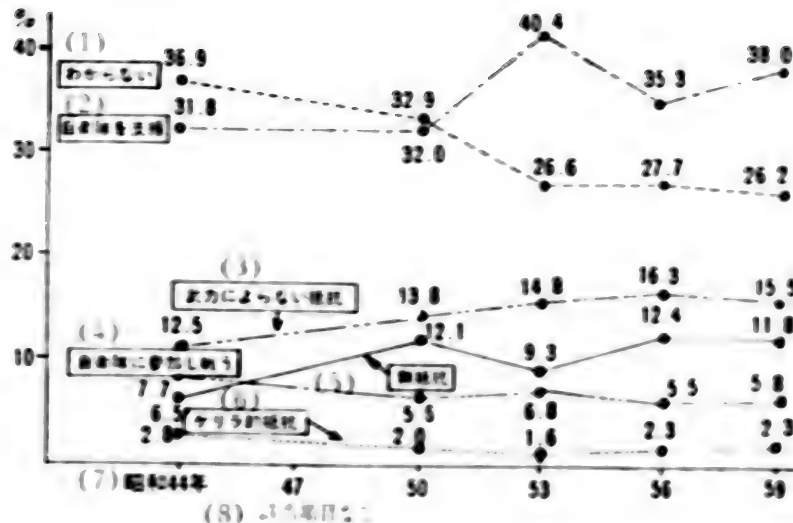
Question 23: What would you do if Japan were invaded by a foreign country?  
Which of the following would you choose?

Key:

1. Response	わ	そ	一	を	る	グ	確	う	自	回
2. Fight by joining the SDF	か		切	を	る	リ	を	ら	自	答
3. Support the SDF in some way	な	の	低	力	に	ウ	支	か	衛	項
4. Put up a guerilla-style resistance	な		抗	を	よ	的	援	の	隊	目
5. Resist without relying on military means	い	他	し	に	ら	な	す	方	に	(1)
6. No resist at all			ない	低	ない	低	自	法	加	
7. Others			抗	抗	抗	衛	衛	で	して	
8. Don't know									戦	
	(8)	(7)	(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)			
36.9	1.7	8.5	12.5	2.8	31.8	7.7	44	年9月調査	September 1969 Survey	
32.9	1.5	12.1	13.8	2.0	32.0	5.6	50	年10月調査	October 1975 Survey	
26.6	0.5	9.3	14.8	1.6	40.4	6.8	53	年12月調査	December 1978 Survey	
27.7	0.5	12.4	16.3	2.3	35.3	5.5	56	年12月調査	December 1981 Survey	
28.2	1.4	11.8	15.5	2.3	38.0	5.0	59	年11月調査	November 1984 Survey	
16.6	1.6	7.8	15.5	3.7	45.9	8.9	男		性 Male	} S e x
34.1	1.1	15.0	15.5	1.1	31.5	1.7	女		別 Female	
24.3	1.0	10.9	22.4	3.6	33.2	4.6	20	歳	代 20's	} A g e
23.3	0.9	10.8	21.0	3.2	36.3	4.5	30	歳	代 30's	
24.6	1.3	11.3	15.9	1.5	40.5	4.9	40	歳	代 40's	
26.8	2.2	12.0	12.0	1.6	40.2	5.1	50	歳	代 50's	
31.2	1.3	13.6	8.4	1.9	37.9	5.7	60	歳以上	Over 60 years old	

Key:

1. Don't know
2. Support the SDF
3. Resist without relying on military means
4. Fight by joining the SDF
5. No resistance
6. Guerrilla-style resistance
7. 1969, 1972, 1975, 1978, 1981, 1984
8. Nothing under this item



When asked what they would do if Japan were invaded by a foreign country, 5.0 percent responded that they would "join the SDF and fight." Thirty-eight point zero percent responded that they would "aid the SDF in some way," 2.3 percent said that they would "put up a guerrilla-style resistance," and 15.5 percent said that they would put up a resistance by non-military means." Together 60.8 percent of the respondents expressed their intention to putting up resistance in some way.

On the other hand, 11.8 percent of them said they "will not put up any resistance whatsoever," 26.2 percent said "don't know."

By age, many people in the middle and old age groups said that they would "aid the SDF in some way" (40.5 percent for those in their 40's and 40.2 percent for those in their 50's), and many in the younger group chose "resist by other than military means." (22.4 percent for those in their 20's and 21.0 percent for those in their 30's.)

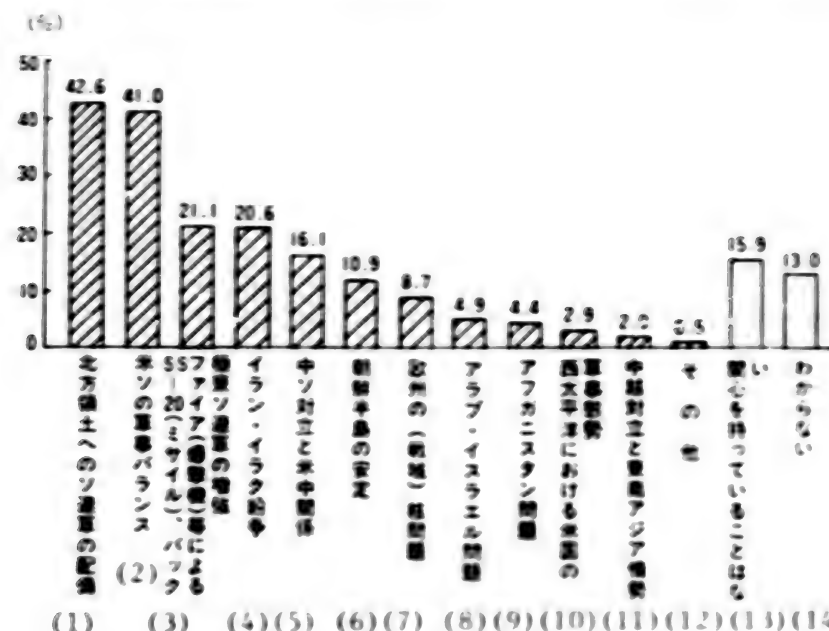
### Japan's Peace and Security

Question 24: Considering Japan's peace and security, if you have something you are concerned with, please cite as many as three from the following:





Graph: Considering the peace and security of Japan, what concerns do you have?  
(multiple responses)



Key:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Deployment of the Soviet military in the Northern Territories  | 8. Arab-Israeli question                                    |
| 2. The U.S.-Soviet military balance   | 9. Afghanistan question                                     |
| 3. The reinforcement of the Far Eastern Soviet military by means of SS-20's (missiles) and the Backfire (bombers) | 10. U.S. military posture in the western Pacific            |
| 4. Iran-Iraq War  | 11. Sino-Vietnam conflict and the Southeast Asian situation |
| 5. Sino-Soviet confrontation and Sino-U.S. relations  | 12. Others  |
| 6. Stability of the Korean Peninsula  | 13. I am not concerned with it                              |
| 7. Nuclear issue in Europe (war zone)   | 14. Don't know  |

As compared with previous survey results, they are now more concerned with "the deployment of the Soviet military in the Northern Territories" (from 36.1 percent to 42.6 percent) and with "the U.S.-Soviet military balance" (from 36.5 percent to 41.0 percent).

#### SDF Recruitment Advertisement

Question 25: Have you seen the advertisement or heard about the recruitment of the SDF members?



た見 こと も ない	し見 たり こ 聞 が い あ た る	回 答 項 目	
(3)	(2)	(1)	(4)
13.9	86.1	総	数
15.9	84.1	11 大 市	(5)
16.2	83.8	東京都区部	(6)
15.7	84.3	10 大 市	
15.0	85.0	その他の市	(8)
13.0	87.0	人口10万 以上の市	(9)
18.4	81.6	人口10万 未満の市	
10.0	90.0	町 村	(11)
9.5	90.5	男	Sex } 性 Male } 別 Female }
17.6	82.4	女	

Key:

1. Response
2. Have seen or heard
3. Have neither seen nor heard
4. Total
5. 11 major cities
6. Tokyo metropolis districts
7. 10 major cities
8. Other cities
9. Cities with more than 100,000 population
10. Cities under 100,000 population
11. Towns and villages

To Those Who Have Seen or Heard

Supplementary Question. In what media? (multiple responses)

Newspaper.....	12.2
Television.....	11.2
Radio.....	0.9
Cable Broadcasting.....	0.2
Posters.....	80.7
Upright Sign Boards.....	27.7
Hanging Screens.....	4.2
Movies, slides.....	0.3
Pamphlets, Leaflets, Fliers.....	8.7
Prefecture, City, Town, Village Information Bulletin, Bulletin Boards.....	19.3
Family members, Relatives, Friends....	4.3
Officials of Municipal, Town, Village Governments.....	2.0
Others.....	2.8
Don't know.....	0.6

## Close Associates

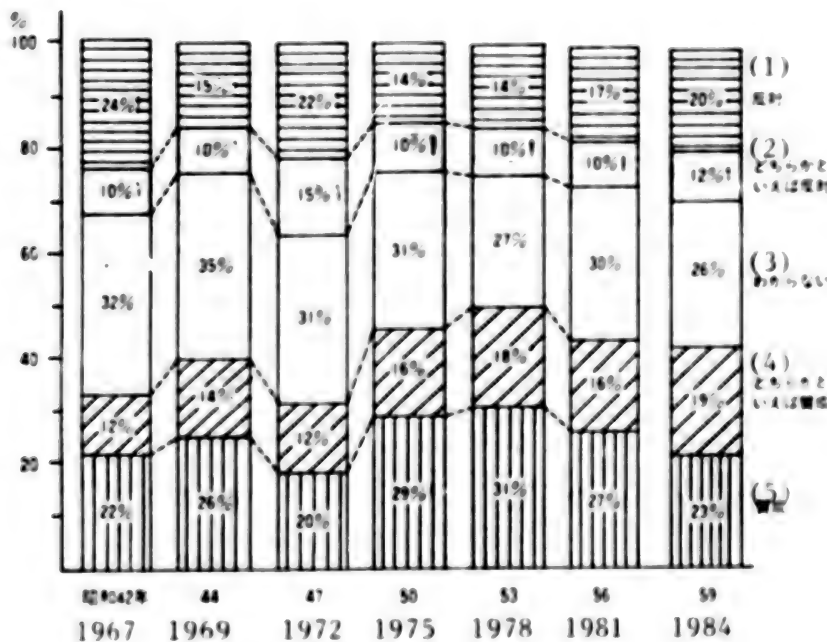
Question 26: In the future, if your close associates are interested in joining the SDF, will you approve or disapprove?

反対する	賛成する	どちらでもない	どちらかといえば賛成	どちらかといえば反対	Don't know
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
16.4	14.6	42.8	26.2	44	9月調査
16.3	21.7	42.4	19.6	47	11月調査
14.2	13.7	43.4	28.7	50	10月調査
9.9	13.8	45.3	30.9	53	12月調査
11.5	16.7	44.5	27.2	56	12月調査
9.2	19.7	48.3	22.7	59	11月調査
6.5	14.5	50.0	29.0	男	性 Male
11.5	24.1	46.9	17.5	女	別 Female
8.9	29.3	48.4	13.5	20	歳代 20's
8.6	22.4	49.2	19.7	30	歳代 30's
8.9	19.5	50.9	20.6	40	歳代 40's
9.6	17.1	48.2	25.2	50	歳代 50's
10.1	14.0	44.7	31.2	60	歳以上 Over 60

Key:

1. Response
2. Approve
3. Neither approve nor disapprove (leave it to the individual concerned)
4. Disapprove
5. Don't know

Graph: Pros and Cons for Close Associate's Joining the SDF



Key:

1. Oppose
2. Oppose if choice is to be made
3. Don't know
4. Approve if choice is to be made
5. Approve

When asked whether they would approve or disapprove if their close associates were interested in joining the SDF, 22.7 percent said "approve," 48.3 said "neither approve nor disapprove (leave the decision to them)," and 19.7 percent said "disapprove." But, the respondents (1,171) who said that they would "neither support nor disapprove" and leave the decision to the persons concerned, when forced to decide, 18.8 percent of them said that they would "approve if they had to choose one," and 11.7 percent said they would "disapprove if they had to choose one."

By sex, more men (29.0 percent) than women (17.5 percent) approved, and by age, the older, the higher the approval rate.

#### Reasons for Approval (Those who Approve)

Supplementary Question 1: What is the reason? Pick one from the following:  
(Surveyed 1,006 persons who responded that they "approve" or "approve if they are to choose")

わ	そ	自	縁	か	に	ら	に	た	団	立	か	守	日	該	回	
か	の	断	故	ら	い	ろ	い	人	体	派	ら	る	本	当	答	
ら	他	隊	者	に	ろ	ろ	ろ	間	生	な	に	と	の	者	項	
な		が	が	適	ろ	ろ	ろ	に	活	職	し	平	と	数	目	
い		な	い	当	ろ	ろ	ろ	に	を	業	か	和	と	(人)		
		く	る	な	ろ	ろ	ろ	に	を	の	り	と	独			
		て	か	い	ろ	ろ	ろ	に	を	一	の	と	立			
(12)	(11)	(10)	(9)	(8)	(7)	(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)					
5.0	1.3	5.4	1.5	0.3	9.8	2.1	32.0	19.6	23.1	800	47年11月調査	November 1972 Survey				
3.3	2.1	6.4	1.1	1.0	6.9	1.9	28.3	20.9	28.1	1,076	50年10月調査	October 1975 Survey				
3.7	0.7	4.8	0.8	1.1	6.3	2.8	27.7	21.6	30.5	1,207	53年12月調査	December 1978 Survey				
2.8	0.6	5.1	0.9	0.9	5.3	1.8	25.8	20.5	36.4	1,028	56年12月調査	December 1981 Survey				
1.2	2.5	4.8	0.4	0.8	5.6	2.1	24.4	20.8	37.8	1,006	59年11月調査	November 1984 Survey				
0.5	1.6	4.0	0.3	0.3	4.9	2.4	24.3	19.8	41.7	575	男	} 性別	Male	} Sex		
2.1	3.7	5.3	0.5	1.6	6.5	1.6	24.4	21.6	32.7	431	女		Female			
—	4.9	7.4	1.2	—	11.1	3.7	18.5	23.5	29.6	81	20	歳	代	20's	Age	
1.5	2.5	2.9	0.5	1.5	7.4	2.5	26.0	24.0	31.4	204	30	歳	代	30's		
1.4	1.9	4.6	—	0.9	7.4	1.4	25.0	24.5	32.9	216	40	歳	代	40's		
1.3	2.2	2.6	0.4	—	4.4	3.1	27.9	19.7	38.4	229	50	歳	代	50's		
1.1	2.5	6.5	0.4	1.4	2.2	1.1	21.4	14.9	48.6	276	60	歳	以上	Over 60		

Key:

- Response
- Number of persons surveyed
- Because I would be proud to defend Japan's peace and independence
- Because it is one of the fine occupations
- Because group life will produce a solid personality
- Because wages and treatment are good
- Because it will be advantageous to me in the future as a result of acquiring various technical skills
- Because there is no other suitable job
- Because of relatives
- Because there will be a problem without the SDF
- Others
- Don't know



## Material 1: Method of Public Opinion Survey

There are various methods of conducting public opinion surveys, but the most common way is to pick the subjects of survey randomly and to conduct face to face interviews. It is regarded as a scientific method.

### Random Sampling Method

When the subject of a survey is selected, subjective judgments or intentions of any kind should not enter into the decision and the choosing of the sample on a probability basis. In practice, picking first of all, city, town, village, or the survey district (survey spot) of the national census randomly, and then from the resident registry or electors' list, individuals are picked. This is a widely adopted method. In this case, the procedure of picking becomes two or more stages, and therefore, this is called the "two-stage (multiple) sampling." Also, when the area of survey is chosen, to minimize the error, the areas are divided into groups which share common characteristics, and from these, sampling is often done. Grouping in this way is called "stratification."

Table: Errors in the Opinion Poll

(1) 結果の 率 %	(2) 30% (又は90%)	(3) 40% (又は80%)	(4) 50% (又は70%)	(5) 60% (又は20%)	(6) 70% (又は30%)	(7) 80% (又は20%)
サンプル数						
20,000	± 0.4%	± 0.6%	± 0.7%	± 0.7%	± 0.7%	± 0.7%
10,000	± 0.6	± 0.8	± 0.9	± 1.0	± 1.0	± 1.0
5,000	± 0.9	± 1.1	± 1.3	± 1.4	± 1.4	± 1.4
3,000	± 1.1	± 1.5	± 1.7	± 1.8	± 1.8	± 1.8
1,000	± 1.9	± 2.5	± 2.9	± 3.1	± 3.2	± 3.2
500	± 2.7	± 3.6	± 4.1	± 4.4	± 4.5	± 4.5
100	± 6.0	± 8.0	± 9.2	± 9.8	± 10.0	± 10.0

なお、ふたつ二段（多段）抽出の場合は、誤差が若干増加し、層化をすれば、誤差は減少する。(7)

Key:

1. Percentage of the result
2. Number of samples
3. or (90%)
4. or (80%)
5. or (70%)
6. or (60%)
7. In the case of two-stage (multiple) sampling, the error will somewhat increase, and if stratified, the error will decrease

## Material 2: Composition of the Subject of the Survey

### 1. Sex

Male.....45.3 %

Female.....54.7 %

### 2. Age (How old are you?)

20-24..... 5.2 %	50-54.....11.1
25-29..... 7.3	55-59..... 9.2
30-34.....10.7	60-64..... 8.1
35-39.....12.3	65-69..... 5.7
40-44.....11.4	Above 70..... 7.8
45-49.....11.2	

3. Education. What is the school you last graduated from? (Drop-out and presently attending are regarded as graduation.)

Elementary School.....	4.2 %
Old Higher Elementary School/New Middle School.....	30.2
Old Middle School/New High School.....	48.8
Old Higher School/New College/University.....	14.0
Unidentified.....	2.8

4. Occupation. What is your occupation?

(1) Self-employed

Agriculture, forestry, fishery.....	5.6 %
Commerce, industry, service.....	10.9
Miscellaneous business.....	1.9

(2) Employed

Managerial.....	1.5 %
Specialized technical.....	0.6
Clerical.....	13.7
Labor.....	18.4

(3) Family Business

Agriculture, forestry, fishery.....	4.5 %
Commerce, industry, service.....	4.5
Profession.....	0.2

(4) Unemployed

Unemployed Housewife.....	26.6 %
Student.....	1.6
Otherwise unemployed.....	10.4

(5) Newspaper Reading. Do you read political section of the newspaper?  
Which of the following?

Read everyday.....	23.6 %
Try to read as much as possible.....	22.0
Occasionally read only interesting articles.....	33.2
Rarely read.....	14.3
Don't read at all.....	3.6
Not sure.....	0.7

**Material 3: Change in public opinion surveys on the SDF and the question of defense (opinion poll taken by the Information Office of the Prime Minister's Secretariat)**

Of the various kinds of opinion polls taken by the Information Office of the Prime Minister's Secretariat, the change in the opinion poll on the main items on the SDF and the question of defense is listed. To this, the results of the consciousness survey conducted by the Defense Agency in September 1977 are added for reference.

<u>Title of Opinion Poll</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>No of Subjects</u>
Reminiscence of the Postwar 10 years and Prospect	August 1955	3,000
Opinion Poll on the Defense Question	January 1956	3,000
Opinion Poll on Constitution	October 1956	20,000
Same	August 1957	20,000
Same	August 1958	20,000
Same	August 1959	20,000
Opinion Poll of Defense Consciousness	October 1959	3,000
Opinion Poll on the Constitution	September 1960	20,000
Opinion Poll on the Constitution	August 1961	20,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF	October 1961	3,000
Opinion Poll on the Constitution	August 1962	20,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF	June 1963	3,000
Survey on Public Information on the SDF and the Defense Question	November 1965	3,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF	August 1967	3,000
People's Consciousness towards the Country	October 1968	3,000
Opinion Poll on Current Affairs	May 1969	3,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF	September 1969	3,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF and the Defense Question	November 1972	3,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF and the Defense Question	October 1975	3,000
Consciousness Survey on the analysis of the object of Public Information (Defense Agency Survey)	September 1977	3,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF and the Defense Question	December 1978	3,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF and the Defense Question	December 1981	3,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF and the Defense Question	November 1984	3,000



## CAUSES OF SURPLUS IN TRADE WITH U.S. EXAMINED

Tokyo THIS IS in Japanese Sep 85 pp 48-53

[Article by Seiji Shinpo, counselor in the Director's Secretariat, Economic Planning Agency: "One Cause of Trade Conflict Is U.S. Overinvestment"]

[Excerpts] In recent years the black ink in Japan's current income and expenditure, especially in trade profits, has increased greatly and has become an important backdrop in intensifying trade friction. The trade surplus swelled from \$18.1 billion in 1982 to \$44.4 billion in 1984. On the U.S. side, on the other hand, the negative balance of trade has increased markedly. Opinions are divided on the question of whether the great increase in Japan's profits comes from a main cause on the American side (overinvestment), or from the primary cause on the Japanese side (excessive savings).

Prof Nakatani Iwao of Osaka University who views Japan's "excessive savings" rather seriously, says: "Deficit financing and the accumulation of profits in current income and expenditure should be seen as an inevitable result brought about by excessive savings in the Japanese economy."

Based on this kind of recognition, he has put forward the criticism (in the 17 May issue of the TOYO KEIZAI Modern Economics series of articles) that for some years our policy, rather than correcting the problem, (excessive savings) has been rather to use a method to treat the symptoms (the market liberalization policy) in order to deal with the result of the inequality (current profits).

Professor Nakatani takes a serious view of the differences in the tax systems of the United States and Japan. In the July issue of this journal in an article entitled "United States-Japan Economic Frictions Can be Settled," he compared the tax structures of the United States and Japan, and indicated that in the United States there is a structure that gives "favorable treatment to investments and unfavorable treatment to savings, whereas in Japan there is favorable treatment to savings and unfavorable treatment for investment." He says that this first of all fixes the trend of excessive investment occurring in the United States (insufficient savings) and the trend of excessive savings occurring in Japan. Second, he asserts that this situation has brought about high interest rates in the United States and relatively low interest rates in Japan.



He is of the opinion that due to this structural difference in taxation, surplus savings seeking high interest, starting with a large outflow to the United States from Japan, fixes the dollar high and yen low, and that Japan's current profits are increased.

Such assertions by Professor Nakatani provide strong support to his assertion of the importance of the influence of the tax system, but when one looks coolly at the reality of the working of the economies of both Japan and the United States, one realizes that there are a number of points that do not fit into the case made by Professor Nakatani.

In the first place, Professor Nakatani views Japan's "excessive savings" as an important cause of the expansion of current profits, and sees the favorable treatment of savings and unfavorable treatment of investments as a problem, but the increase in the corporate tax rate and the introduction of the Maru-yu system [of tax-free interest on small savers' accounts] began earlier, and thus for recent years (1982-1984) it is not reasonable to try to see them as the cause of the breadth of the expansion of profits.

In the second place, what changed greatly on entering the 1980's was mainly factors on the U.S. side. In the American economy under the Reagan administration, an extreme trend toward "overinvestment" was brought about by deficit financing and a reduction in tax on investments.

To start with, the expansion of deficit financing largely forced down the savings rate in the American economy. Professor Feldstein has indicated the following. From 1950 to 1979, on average, pure savings for household budgets, industry, and local government came to 7.6 percent of GNP. During that time, since the size of the federal deficit was less than 1 percent of GNP, the real national savings rate was 6.9 percent.

In contrast, since 1980, the household, industrial, and local government combined savings rate has been 6.8 percent of GNP, somewhat lower than the earlier rate; but more than that, because the federal deficit increased widely to 3.6 percent of GNP in 1982 and 6.1 percent of GNP in 1983, the real national savings rate for 1982 and the first three quarters of 1983 dropped to a mere 1.5 percent.

Next, since the accelerated depreciation system introduced in 1981 and the expansion of tax deductions led to increased investments in plant and equipment, the trend toward "overinvestment" in the United States was intensified and the upward trend in real interest rates was strengthened.

Accordingly, the trend toward "overinvestment" (savings insufficiency) in the United States, while influenced somewhat by the investment tax system as indicated by Professor Nakatani, was greatly influenced by the expansion of deficit financing.

It is clear that there are problems with a tax system which gives "unfavorable treatment to savings," but since this kind of tax system has been in place for some time, it is difficult to view it as the direct cause of the trend

toward "overinvestment" which intensified on entering the 1980's.

A more direct cause, which aggravated the savings insufficiency, was rather the expansion of the deficit, as indicated by Professor Feldstein.

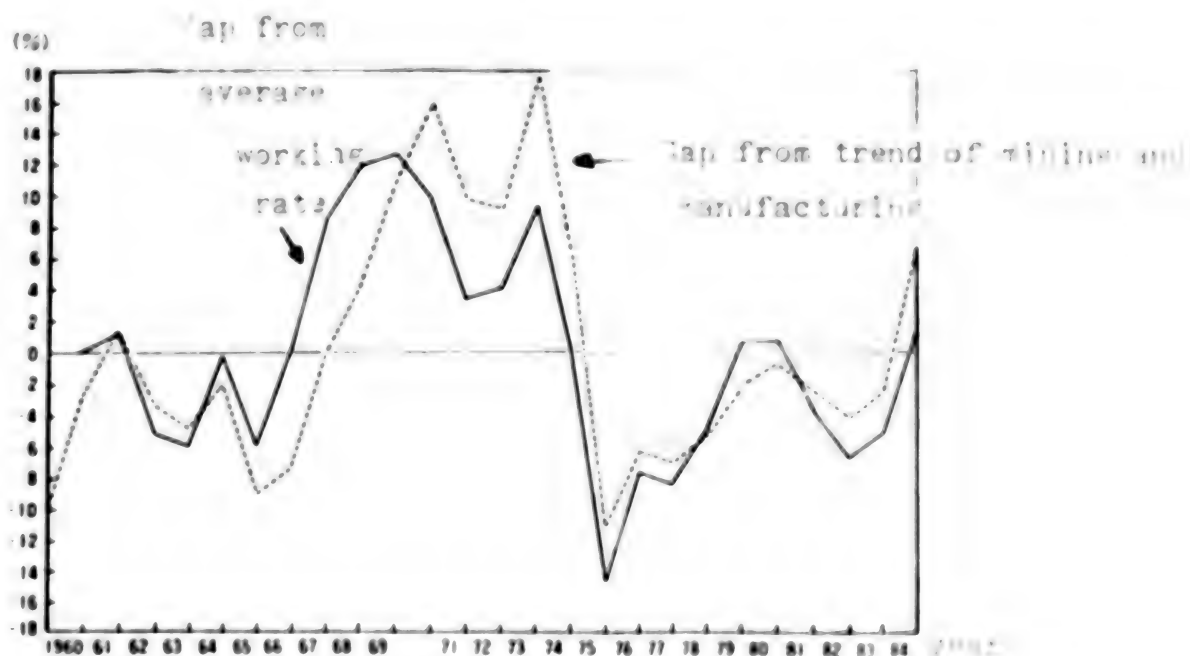
### A Policy Increasing General Demand Invites Inflation

In Japan at present, voices are gradually being raised, mainly by the media, opposition parties, and by one segment of the ruling party, calling for an expansion of domestic consumption. It is too delicate to say at this point whether this will come to possess the vitality of the chorus which sought a general increase in demand back in 1972. The conditions that are similar to those of 1972 are the continuation of large profits in current accounts and an increase in foreign trade frictions. However, the assertion made in 1972 was that "We should increase general demand in order to shrink the gap between supply and demand," whereas the recent plea has been that "we should expand domestic demand in order to shrink the gap between savings and investment," so the character of these appeals is slightly different.

To put it another way, back in 1972 it was a policy proposal for the management of short-term general demand, but the current "expansion of domestic consumption argument" is a proposal related to structural policy seen from a medium- or long-term point of view. That is to say, it is a call for gradually changing the economic structure, for slightly decreasing the rate of savings and for slightly increasing the rate of investment.

In order to stimulate this kind of change in economic structure it is necessary to create a climate wherein it is profitable to invest and unprofitable to save. Accordingly, this kind of policy differs fundamentally from a simple demand expansion policy, and as Professor Nakatani asserts, it must be a policy to change relative value. It is a policy influenced by supply side economics.

Figure 3 Production Activity Exceeding Average Operational Levels



However, it is argued that the thesis for expanding domestic demand is being confused with the former general demand expansion argument. Together with the words "expansion of domestic demand," the terms "balanced expansion" and "realization of potential growth" frequently appear. That is because these terms are dragging the tail of the former supply-and-demand-gap theory.

However, the Japanese economy at the present time is viewed as being roughly at a normal standard for economic activity (natural, real GNP)--that is at a balanced level of GNP where there is neither acceleration nor deceleration of inflation.

Figure 3 shows the gap from the past average values in the working rate in the manufacturing industries (average from 1960 to 1982) and the gap from the trend in mining and manufacturing; the values for 1984 levels exceed average values, though only slightly. Accordingly, because we can see that there is no longer a deflation gap at present, a policy promoting the expansion of general domestic demand is unnecessary. On the contrary, if such a policy were employed, we would repeat the same mistake as in 1972, and there is strong concern that we would force up the inflation rate.

What is an especially dangerous concept concerns a policy that would try to pull up the nominal growth rate to over 8 percent from its present 6 percent range, which is being advocated by one part of the team. Such policy, in the end, would not be tied to the real growth rate, but would only increase the rate of inflation. In that sense it is nothing more than a type of regulated inflation theory.

#### The Basis of an Antifriction Policy Is Open Markets and Regulatory Relief

The correct policy for Japan to adopt in order to combat trade friction is to develop a real open market policy. As we saw earlier, because American "overinvestment," and the high dollar and low yen which accompany it, are the causes of the widening of Japanese profits in recent years, as long as this situation remains unchanged, it is perhaps difficult to shrink Japan's profits to any great extent. Professor Nakatani has criticized an open market policy as one which treats the symptoms, but the aim of an open market policy is not simply to reduce the size of Japanese profits. The cause of Japan-U.S. trade friction lies in the fact that Japanese markets are open to an insufficient degree, and in the point that the United States views this as unfair. Professor Feldstein has said: "The present Japan-U.S. trade friction revolves around an overall imbalance" (in the *ECONOMISUTO* issue of 21 May).

It is arguable, perhaps, seen from the perspective of the low level of customs duties and the number of items on which there are import restrictions, that among the important nations the degree to which Japan's markets are open is not especially low, but in agricultural products, together with France, the number of items which are restricted is rather high, as always.

Furthermore, like the gasoline imports question, there are also doubts concerning the likelihood that there is a gap between the system and its actual operation. Moreover, there are also rigorous consumer regulations, and all of the

various rules for many types of safety and the inspection system are seen by various foreign nations as over strict. The distribution system is even more complicated, and the majority of small stores are protected by this device which limits competition. Furthermore, it appears there is also a special aspect to Japanese-style business practice.

All of these comprise the so-called special Japanese characteristics and they possess their own logic, and although they probably cannot be changed in a day, arguing here for the special character of Japan will not resolve the issue. Because the free trade system is indispensable to Japan, it is now trying to play the role of the driving force for free trade, and it is being demanded that Japan display impartial free trade rules and demonstrate that it will follow them itself.

That makes internationalization complete, and to a degree changes one's own special character. Internationalization blends characteristics into a more universal form. This requires a long period of time, perhaps, but it is a path which we cannot circumvent. This kind of open market policy is not something that can be repalced by a policy of expanding domestic demand.

#### Excessive Saving Cannot Be Called Unhealthy

At the same time, a policy promoting expansion of domestic demand is also important, since employing a policy that will lead to a higher rate of domestic investment will reduce Japan's profits, and that will probably be useful in reducing trade friction. To do this we must resolutely cast aside all kinds of government regulations, and it is necessary to create new enterprise opportunities. In order to stimulate investment in housing and investment in plant and equipment, the practical use of the tax system should probably be studied. This differs qualitatively from the general expansion of domestic demand which dragged the tail of the supply-and-demand-gap argument.

However, for the maintenance of the basis of price stability, it is necessary at the same time to take steps to see that policy does not lead to an increase in the expansion of nominal demand. What is important from that perspective is maintenance of a money supply growth rate which does not exceed the 7 per-cent range.

On the other hand, we should be cautious in taking actions that would be related to lowering the savings rate. As Professor Nakatani indicated, since the present world economy as a whole is in a state in which there is insufficient savings, if Japan's savings rate were lowered, there would be a serious possibility that real interest rates would rise.

Furthermore, if we consider the development of the overall world economy, which also includes the developing countries, then we cannot necessarily say that "excessive savings" in the Japanese economy is unhealthy. Because the development of the world economy does not progress uniformly, on the one hand there are many nations which are blessed with ample investment opportunities, but which are troubled by insufficient availability of capital. On the other hand, there are nations whose economies have matured and which do not have as many

investment opportunities, but which possess plenty of investment capital. In such a case, capital flows from the latter, where the rate of return is relatively low, to the former where the rate of return is higher, and this is desirable for the harmonious development of the world economy.

This fact is fundamentally the same as borrowing and lending between individuals. Depending on the stage of life, there are households which need large amounts of capital for education or home-buying and the like and which invest their capital in excess of the amount of savings they possess. On the other hand, there are those households which have passed that stage of life and which no longer need to invest so much, and those households have fairly ample surplus savings. In such a case, through the agency of a financial institution, the capital of the latter is loaned to the former.

If we use the premise that the Japanese economy is approaching this stage of life, then the mechanism by which capital flows to developing nations, where investment opportunities are ample and the return on investment is high, should begin to work. When that mechanism works, extreme current profits are produced on the amount of capital outflow, but it is inappropriate to call this type of profit "unfair."

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